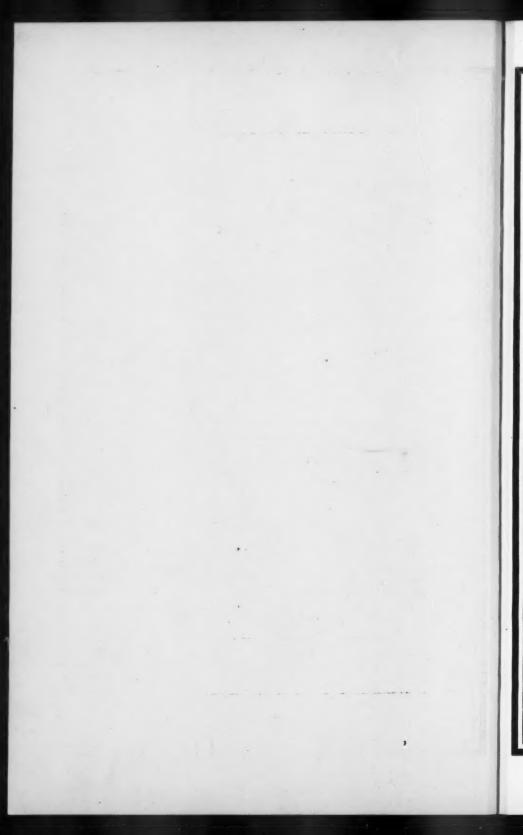
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THE MUSIC REVIEW

VOLUME I. NO. 1. FEBRUARY, 1940



'NOTHING TO REPORT?'

-On the contrary. We are glad to announce that, in spite of war publications conditions, our schedule for 1940 is lengthy and varied and includes a number of outstanding works by composers whose names are known throughout the world of music. During the last few years Boosey & Hawkes, Ltd. have greatly in-creased their output of serious modern publications. To-day, they are the exclusive publishers of Béla Bartók, John Ireland, Benjamin Britten, Armstrong Gibbs and Arthur Benjamin, and have, moreover, issued in the recent past works by such diverse composers as Bloch, Kodály, Honegger, Martinu, Edmund Rubbra, Alan Bush, Willy Burkhard, Aaron Copland and numerous young English composers.

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THE MUSIC REVIEW

VOLUME I. No. 1.

FEBRUARY, 1940

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Geoffrey Sharp,
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Cambridge.

All other correspondence to the publishers:—
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Cambridge.

Editorial

The Music Review was planned before the war to provide a forum for writers of knowledge and ability. Changing circumstances have, of course, given rise to unforeseen difficulties: but none that have proved too obstinate to be parried for the time being. How long the magazine is to survive must depend upon the measure of active support it receives, but if the enthusiasm of its contributors and other well-wishers during these early stages should find any parallel among those who may now make contact with it, then the Editor's hope for its success must be more than justified. If through these pages we can in any way bring the art of music closer to your own fireside as a fundamental reality, we shall be achieving an object that is the more worth while in these wearying days when war is perpetually gnawing at such sanity as we once possessed and threatening to distort our sense of values.

THE MUSIC REVIEW has no axe to grind. It will appear quarterly as long as subscribers show any sign of wanting it, as long as contributors show any inclination to write for it and as long as the expenses of production remain within reasonable bounds. War babies are sometimes difficult to handle: but the life of this

one, however short, will be as full as we can make it.

GEOFFREY SHARP.

The Symphonies of Gustav Mahler

BY

EGON WELLESZ

THE great period of the Austrian symphony, which began with Haydn, ended with Gustav Mahler. His creative work was done in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. He came to Vienna, to the Konservatorium der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, in 1875, at a time when all circles of the city took a passionate interest in musical questions. It is significant that he at once became a friend of Anton Bruckner, from whose Third Symphony he made a piano score for four hands. So, at the early age of eighteen, he took his place in the chain of musicians who kept alive the spirit of that epoch of music described by Hadow as "The Viennese Period".

In this country Mahler is still known too little and rated too low. Only a few musicians or music-lovers know any of his work but The Song of the Earth (Das Lied von der Erde), which has already been performed here seven or eight times. Of his nine symphonies, the Fourth has been played most often, whereas the Third, Sixth and Seventh are as yet, so far as I have been able to ascertain, completely unknown. The remaining symphonies have each been played some two or three times by the B.B.C. or at concerts. The meagre number of these performances is in striking contrast to Mahler's importance as a composer and to the fact that in former years his symphonies were in the repertory of every continental conductor of any standing. The explanation is not far to find.

Mahler died on 21st February, 1911, at a time when he was only recognised as a composer of unusual talent and originality in the territory of the old Austrian monarchy, in Germany, in Holland and in Switzerland. Even there, however, he was overshadowed by a more dazzling apparition: Richard Strauss, who was steadily winning his way to international fame. Just at that time, composers and musicians in the western half of Europe were beginning to lose interest in symphonic music. The imitators of the classical symphony, with their ceaseless striving for dynamic expression, were ousted from favour by Debussy and the modern French



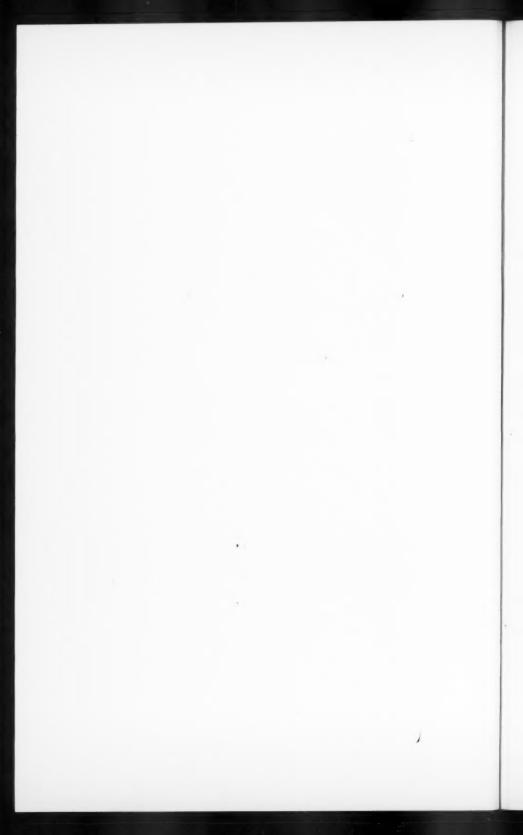




GUSTAV MAHLER

This portrait was taken in the loggia of the Imperial Court Opera in Vienna in 1907 by Moriz Nähr, a few months before Mahler left his post as director of the Opera.

The portrait is one of a series of eleven taken on the same day, and reproduced by Alfred Roller (Mahler's stage-architect and principal collaborator) in *Die Bildnisse von Gustav Mahler* (E. P. Tal & Co., Vienna, 1922).



school and by the more static structure of the suite and similar forms. These new tendencies spread like wildfire throughout Western Europe and brought fresh inspiration to young composers there. Such is the explanation of the excusable antipathy which greeted the attempt to introduce Mahler's symphonies to the public of these countries. A further difficulty was contributed by the works of Arnold Schönberg and his followers, which were beginning to spread at the same time from the same city of Vienna and which held the younger generation spellbound.

Since then, however, twenty-eight years have passed. What at the time of Mahler's death was a budding experiment in art, has to-day reached fruition. Questions which were passionately discussed in those days have now been solved or shelved. It therefore seems to me possible to attempt to speak about Mahler the composer of symphonies, and to discuss a musician whom people in this country certainly know by name and one of whose works they may perhaps have heard and remember, but who remains fundamentally unknown. To-day, interest in the symphony as a means of expressing musical thoughts has again sprung up, and I imagine that at such a time it might be stimulating to make the acquaintance of a composer whose chief art consisted in extending and enriching the form of the symphony in a way undreamt of until then.

Before I attempt to give a sketchy account of what seems to me important in the symphonies of Gustav Mahler, I should like to describe in a few words how, as a young musician, I was attracted by his personality and by his work. I came to the University of Vienna in 1904, where I started studying the history of music under Guido Adler, who greatly admired Mahler. For some years previously, my enthusiasm had been aroused by his productions at the Viennese Hofoper and by his conducting at the Philharmonic concerts. Adler now made it possible for his pupils to attend rehearsals of the opera and of concerts conducted by Mahler: an invaluable opportunity for getting to know the operas of Gluck, Mozart and Wagner, and the great symphonies of the classical composers. In Adler's Institute for the History of Music I met Anton von Webern for the first time. He was taking private tuition with Arnold Schönberg and so did Alban Berg and I myself. Schönberg had just finished his symphonic poem Pelléas and Mélisande and was working at his First Quartet in D minor.

At a concert given on 14th December, 1904, Mahler conducted

his own Third Symphony with the Philharmonic Orchestra. This performance made an impression on me which was decisive for my whole subsequent development. Much as I admired Schönberg and above all regarded his chamber music as the highest development in the line of the last Beethoven quartets, I felt equally influenced by the clear architectural structure of Mahler's symphonies. I think I may say that from that time on my own path

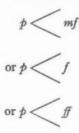
as a composer was mapped out for me.

Schönberg and Mahler. One can imagine no sharper contrast, and yet each of the two musicians had a profound respect for the other's work. And for a musician standing (as I then did) at the outset of his development, there could be no better apprenticeship than to study under them both. From the one—Schönberg—he could learn intensification of melodic and harmonic expression; from the other—Mahler—construction of symphonic form and that clarity and economy of orchestration, which constant rehearsals with the orchestra of the Viennese *Hofoper* developed to a degree of masterliness hardly to be surpassed.

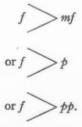
A study of the growth of Mahler's instrumental technique from the First to the Ninth Symphony shows how he worked at perfecting his orchestration. But this stands out even more clearly from a consideration of the alterations which he made during rehearsals in the score of each of his symphonies after it had been printed. One can easily recognise it by comparing the older version of the large scores with the revised version contained in the miniature scores. I have tried to give some examples of this kind in the second volume of my book, Die Neue Instrumentation (pp. 27-34). They show how an experienced composer is able to achieve with a few instruments an effect which equals, or even surpasses, that obtained with many instruments. Moreover, one finds throughout Mahler's scores an increasing number of musical directions for nailing down the volume and execution of melodic phrases. I can say from personal experience that the better the orchestra, the more necessary such directions become. I will pick out just one example. A great many composers are in the habit of marking their scores as follows:



On coming across such vague directions, any member of a good orchestra (that is, an orchestra accustomed to going into the composer's meaning) will regularly put one of these questions to him: "Do you want a crescendo to mf or f or f?" or "Do you want a diminuendo to mf or p or pp?" The correct directions should therefore run, in the case of the crescendo:



and in the case of the diminuendo:



Mahler left nothing to chance or to the improvisation of the conductor—and here Toscanini, whose method of conducting has much in common with his, resembles him. He did not do this—any more than Toscanini does—in order to impose his will on the orchestra, but from a profound respect for the composer's intention as set out in his work.

Between 1880 and his death in 1911, Mahler composed a ballad, The Song of Mourning (Das klagende Lied), songs for solo voice and pianoforte, song cycles for voices and orchestra, orchestral songs, ten symphonies and The Song of the Earth. Of the symphonies, the First, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Ninth, and the fragmentary Tenth, are purely instrumental. The Second, Third and Fourth symphonies contain movements into which parts for solo voice or chorus have been introduced. The Eighth Symphony is

scored for seven solo voices, double chorus, boys' choir, full orchestra

and organ.

The first three symphonies fall into one stylistic group; the Fourth Symphony is a study in the classical style and introduces in the first movement a strongly contrapuntal method of writing. It bridges the way to the three symphonies of the second period: the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh. With the Eighth Symphony, Mahler turned back to the style of the Second and Fourth Symphonies, but raised it to a higher level, and made use in the first part *Veni Creator Spiritus* of all species of counterpoint.

The Ninth Symphony inaugurates a new stylistic period, characterised by broken treatment of the melodic line. This is also the style of the first movement of the Tenth Symphony, which only exists in a facsimile edition of the manuscript and in a score edited

by Ernest Krenek from the sketches.

It is now high time to answer the question which must strike everyone on hearing that Mahler wrote ten symphonies: "Why ten symphonies? We can understand a composer writing chamber music, choral works, songs and symphonies. But why does Mahler keep going back time after time to the symphonic form? Does not this entail an unnecessary repetition in an artist's creative work?" I confess that this question cannot be answered on the spot. I myself can hardly imagine a musician of this generation who could write one symphony after another and have something new to offer in each which was not already contained in the others. This verdict, however, does not apply to the period of Mahler's creative activity. Let us not forget that Mahler began to compose his first symphonies at a time when Tchaikovsky, Dvořak and Brahms were at the height of their production, and when Bruckner-whose lifework consisted of his nine symphonies, the Te Deum, and a few Masses-was beginning to win gradual and tardy recognition as a composer. For Mahler, the symphony meant the possibility of giving the appropriate form to his musical thought. This form, it is true, could not be bound by the conventions of the post-classical symphony but had, by its flexibility, to give him greater freedom as regards both the extension and the number of single movements. This will best be made clear, if at this point I indicate the number of movements and the use of vocal parts in the nine finished symphonies.

FIRST SYMPHONY:

Adagio—comodo.
 Con moto.
 Moderato.
 Tempestuoso.

SECOND SYMPHONY:

Allegro maestoso.
 Andante moderato.
 Con moto comodo (attacca).
 First Light (Urlicht)—Alto (attacca).
 Thou willt rise again (Aufersteh'n)—Soprano, Alto, Chorus and Orchestra.

THIRD SYMPHONY:

Part I: I. Vigoroso.

Part II: 2. Tempo di Menuetto. 3. Comodo. 4. O Man, Beware (O Mensch, gib Acht)—Alto. 5. Three Angels sang (Es sungen drei Engel)—Female chorus. 6. Adagio.

FOURTH SYMPHONY:

1. Comodo. 2. Con moto comodo. 3. Poco adagio. 4. We taste heavenly joys (Wir geniessen die himmlischen Freuden)—Soprano.

FIFTH SYMPHONY:

Part I: 1. Marcia funebre. 2. Tempestuoso.

Part II: 3. Scherzo. 4. Adagietto. 5. Rondo Finale.

SIXTH SYMPHONY:

I. Allegro energico. 2. Scherzo. 3. Andante moderato.

4. Finale.

SEVENTH SYMPHONY:

1. Adagio-Allegro con fuoco. 2. Allegro moderato. 3. Mosso.

4. Andante amoroso. 5. Rondo Finale.

EIGHTH SYMPHONY:

Part I: Allegro impetuoso. Veni Creator Spiritus.

Part II: Final scene from Faust. Poco adagio—Con moto—Allegro.

NINTH SYMPHONY:

Andante comodo.
 Tempo di "Ländler."
 Rondo—allegro assai.
 Adagio.

Only the First, Fourth, Sixth and Ninth Symphonies have the regular number of four movements, and the First Symphony alone answers to the normal scheme. The last movement of the Fourth is a song, the last movement of the Sixth, which lasts some forty minutes, is a tragic symphony in itself, and in the Ninth Symphony the short *Adagio* is joined to a long Rondo, so that the resulting proportions are quite different from those of the usual symphony.

For Mahler the symphonic form was a means of expressing in tones the relationship of the artist to the surrounding world. He, a musician, used the symphony as a great writer uses the drama or the novel, to construct a *theatrum mundi*. Perhaps the best explanation of what his symphonies stand for—with the exception of the Fourth, serene in atmosphere from start to finish—may be found in the words which I once heard Mahler use at a rehearsal, when he wanted to explain the meaning of his Second Symphony to the orchestra. They were the words of Jacob from the Bible: "I will not let thee go except thou bless me".

This wrestling with perfection runs through the whole of Mahler's work. The composer's fanatic honesty with himself gives us an insight into the intensity of this process which is hardly possible in any other case. We know from Beethoven's sketchbooks that many of his most beautiful themes were first jotted down in a completely undeveloped shape and that they only gradually took on the form which the world admires. We find themes in Mahler's work which have a simple, almost banal, appearance on their first introduction into the score, and which only assume their ultimate, fully developed form in the course of symphonic development. One might say that in Beethoven's sketch-books the process of creating a theme and shaping it to its final form is often to be found scattered throughout years, whereas it is revealed to the listener as he hears a symphony of Mahler's. Let us take as an example the second subject of the first movement of the Sixth Symphony. The subject is introduced after a sort of chorale in the woodwind and horns. It is a passionate melody, though it has a sentimental character too:-



It lasts for fourteen bars, and—after a contrasting section of eight bars—is repeated in an even more passionate form. In the further course of the movement, the character of the melody changes. The first bars become energetic in expression:



During a soft melody on the oboe, the other bars appear, freed from the taint of sentimentality:



Towards the end of the movement, the first four notes gain a new significance. The melody itself is treated in free imitation:



Finally the melody appears as a fanfare on the trumpets, accompanied by the trombones in harmony, and a rhythmic figure on the drums.



It is the most noble development of expression which can be wrung from the tones of the melody and on this the movement ends.

No other theme undergoes such a striking transformation of expression as the example discussed above. Yet from the First to the Ninth Symphony one can find many themes and musical phrases which bear witness to a similar, and more or less distinct, process of development.

The scale of Mahler's single movements, particularly those (namely, the first and last) in which he applied the symphonic technique proper, compelled him to find ways of strengthening his construction. The extension of the content of single subjects has its natural boundaries in the listener's memory, which cannot retain very long themes. Mahler turned to another means, which is to be found first in the Third Symphony. He collected several short themes into a group and bound them into an organic whole by the use of a short, very characteristic motif:



In the second movement of the Fifth Symphony, this function is exercised by a group of four chords:



This technique is worked out in its most perfect form in the last movement of the Fifth Symphony, the Rondo Finale. Here the five subsidiary themes are at first set out without any introduction or bridge passages. Three of the five themes end on a sequence of four notes in a falling scale:



This sequence is treated by the oboe in augmentation and forms the first motif of the chief subject in the Allegro Comodo. In the second bar it appears as a subsidiary voice and from then on it is constantly introduced and especially treated as a cadence theme.

In the Sixth Symphony, known as the *Tragic*, Mahler introduces in the first, second and fourth movements a fortissimo A major chord on the trumpets, which turns into an A minor chord, and thus expresses a sudden change from cloudless brilliance to hopeless sorrow:



In the last movement—which in length alone equals a classical symphony—Mahler brings into the introduction a theme, of which the two motifs, a and b, reappear as principal phrases in almost every subject.



A similar constructive use of motifs can be pointed out in the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Symphonies as well. It was obviously not the composer's intention that the listener should notice every return of the phrase. The introduction of motifs with a very marked rhythm is only a direct means of producing a feeling of continuity in the listener's subconscious mind. A fugue achieves the same result by the repetition of themes.

The themes which Mahler introduced into his symphonies are very definite in character: they are either very energetic or very lyrical. Mahler poured into them all the intensity of his passionate nature and this lends them such a strong individuality that they impress themselves easily on the listener's memory and can be recognised immediately by a musician. The passionate character of Mahler's work inevitably affects the listener, whose reaction to his music is marked by strong sympathy or strong antipathy. Mahler's symphonies are not for people who want to spend half-an-hour idly enjoying a pleasant flow of music. His music demands that the listener should share the intensity of the composer; it is exciting and enthralling.

This leads me on to a discussion of the themes of the symphonies themselves. A striking number of them are either taken from Mahler's songs in the popular style or have an affinity with Austrian folk-songs and peasant dances. This can easily be explained. Mahler, who from his twenty-first year on, had to conduct operas and concerts all through the winter, was a "summer composer". He used to spend his holidays by one of the lakes in Styria or Carinthia. The country there inspired him to composition. Thus it was very natural that he should bring into his opus symphonicum the spirit of the countryside, as expressed in its songs and dances. In certain movements these surroundings are simply portrayed as they appeared to the composer; in others, the melodies express the nostalgic longing of the artist, drawn from his own passionate world to the serene charm of the countryside which speaks to him in songs. The contrast to these melodies is provided by the themes in which the composer describes his own feelings.

The First Symphony already introduces all the different kinds of theme of which I have spoken here. The first and second subjects of the first movement are taken from one of the Songs of a Wandering Minstrel (Lieder eines Fahrenden Gesellen); further, the whole movement is a free, expanded treatment of this song. The

second movement is a crude peasant dance:

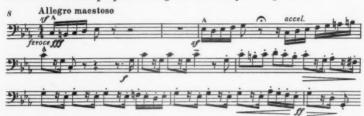


into which the middle section, a trio, introduces as a contrast a delicate melody. The third movement begins with a parody, in canon, of the folk-song Brother Martin (which is the same melody as the French Frère Jacques). Then come fragmentary echoes of a Czech military march and of gipsy music. The middle section follows "in the very simple, straightforward manner of a folk tune". This also is part of the last song from the Wandering Minstrel and immediately afterwards the canon comes in again. The last movement treats energico a subject very characteristic of Mahler:



a theme which gives the particular symphonic stamp to this, by far the longest, movement of the work.

In the Second Symphony, the first movement is worked out in the usual form. There is no introduction and the subject is given at once by the double-basses, accompanied by a tremolo of the violins on G and played with great intensity of expression:



The second movement, an Andante moderato, introduces variations on a graceful dance in minuet form: the third is another free fantasy on one of Mahler's songs: Anthony of Padua's sermon to the Fishes (Des Antonius von Padua Fischpredigt). Then follows a song for alto and small orchestra, Urlicht, which is one of Mahler's most lovely inspirations. The finale is a very impressive full cantata for orchestra, soloists and chorus, lasting through seventy-five pages of score and leading to a long orchestral introduction, after which the chorus comes in a capella, ppp, with the words of a Klopstock ode Aufersteh'n, ja aufersteh'n, wirst du, mein Staub, nach kurzer Ruh.

Looking at the Second Symphony from the point of view of form, and leaving out of account the interpolated song, *Urlicht*, one could describe it as a direct descendant of the line inaugurated by Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. But from the Third Symphony on, Mahler severed even his outward connections with this tradition.

The Third Symphony is composed of two parts, as already indicated. Part I consists of the first movement, which lasts for over forty minutes. One might imagine that a movement on such a scale would tire or bewilder the listener. Its structure is, however, so perfect, its different sections are so well contrasted, that its length passes unnoticed and the listener remains fascinated and absorbed from start to finish. Part II includes all the remaining movements of the Symphony. The second movement begins with a pastoral melody.



which clearly shows its descent from a country dance. The third is an expanded form of a gay song of Mahler's from the cycle Lieder aus des Knaben Wunderhorn. Now follow two movements with vocal parts. The fourth movement is a setting of Nietzsche's poem O Mensch, gib Acht; the fifth a setting of a song, Es sungen drei Engel, taken from Des Knaben Wunderhorn and arranged for alto, boys' and women's chorus, woodwind, horns, bells, harps and double-basses. At the end comes the most important and beautiful movement of the whole work, an Adagio, which at first is scored only for strings. One by one, the woodwind join in, then the horns, and at the very end the trumpets and trombones swell the final crescendo.

The Fourth Symphony is played most often; chiefly, I think, because it can be performed with the least difficulty. It is scored for four flutes, three oboes, three clarinets, three bassoons, four horns, three trumpets, percussion, one harp and strings. It has no trombones and no bass tuba, and only the normal number of horns, as against the six horns of the Second Symphony and the eight of the Third. This Symphony, composed in 1900, is perhaps the first work in the style for which, much later on, the term "neo classical" was employed. The first subject



at once gives the feeling of a theme of the time of Haydn and this style is maintained throughout the work, although in the course of each movement the personality of the modern musician breaks through, as for instance, in the following group of themes:



Such a combination of parts is against a rule which can be read in any manual of counterpoint, namely, that two or more voices should never be at a standstill at the same time, but that at least one should continue in the same movement if the other stops, e.g. J. S. Bach, Invention in C major:



In the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Symphonies, Mahler frequently and consciously departs from the usual contrapuntal style. He combines subjects which have a similar rhythmic character or in which a pause follows on an isorhythmic up-beat in the same part of the bar. As an example, one might take the following passage from the Scherzo of the Fifth Symphony:



Yet these are the very works in which Mahler's contrapuntal technique is amazingly developed. Nor does he fall into the practice—so common with composers to-day—of writing fugues, which are more of an ornament than a necessity, from the sheer exuberance of technical mastery. The Rondo Finale of the Fifth Symphony, of which the introduction has already been quoted, is built up from start to finish as a polyphonic movement. Towards the end, more and more combinations of themes are introduced, until in the coda three motifs are constantly treated together:



I think this new technique fascinated Mahler so much that, in the middle period of his creative life, he felt no need to use vocal parts in the symphonies. An external consideration may also have been decisive: symphonies without solo parts and choruses stand a better chance of being performed.

The Sixth and Seventh Symphonies are among the least accessible of Mahler's compositions. In both works, the harmony is of astonishing daring, the structure of the movements is very complicated and the orchestration is extremely harsh, as all combination of different orchestral groups is ruled out. The Sixth Symphony especially (composed in 1904) is full of passages of very interesting harmony. Let me give an example from the first movement:



We have here a subject, resembling a chorale, on the muted trombones, combined with a top voice played by the violins *sul tasto* and by the celesta. This voice is strengthened by triads in the first inversion. The first two chords on the trombones introduce the modulation from a major to a minor triad, which has already been quoted, in Ex. 5, as characteristic of the whole Symphony.

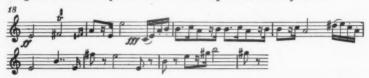
I should like to draw particular attention to the very original Scherzo of this Symphony. The first part, *pesante*, is like an uncanny dance of demons.'



The trio forms a strong contrast to this. The expression is admirably suggested by the direction "in the old-fashioned manner". The melody on the oboe, with which this section opens, is also marked *grazioso* and "deliberately".



As in the Fifth Symphony, the last movement is on the biggest scale. Here again the themes are gradually set out in a long introduction (Sostenuto—poco pesante—piu mosso—pesante—piu mosso—stringendo poco a poco). The main section starts off allegro energico, with a subject which is developed for twenty bars.



This movement bears a definite tragic stamp. In it, Mahler's technique of polyphonic writing reached such a degree of perfection, that even people left cold by his works, were roused to admiration. I want to quote just one passage from the end of the movement. Here the four-part counterpoint is at first confined to the brass of the orchestra, the accompaniment being played by the woodwind and violins. From the fifth bar on, these instruments take over the top voice:



On this, I should like to make the following comment, from personal experience: plausible as this passage may sound, there lurks a certain danger in its example. Composers should beware of the excessive use of trumpets and trombones to play thematic parts simultaneously and fortissimo, especially if these instruments are in the upper register. The strong resonance of brass tires the listener and is certainly the reason why so few composers writing for a large orchestra make use of this kind of polyphony. Here, in the Sixth Symphony, we have an exceptional case. The composer has no other choice in expressing his ideas than to use a great number of trumpets, horns and trombones and tries to match the grand style of the work with fitting orchestral sonority. But such sonority undeniably makes great demands on the listener-demands which, in my opinion, are not justified in the case of Mahler's next work in this style of orchestration, the Seventh Symphony. For the mood of this Symphony is light and often gay and the orchestration of its first and last movements seems to me too shrill and harsh. The most successful movements are the second and fourth, the two Serenades. In neither movement are there trombones, and the second has no trumpets either; these are replaced by guitar and mandoline, and great use is made of solo woodwind. I believe these Serenades, and particularly the second, an Andante amoroso, might have some success, detached from the remaining movements and played with a smaller orchestra.

The Eighth Symphony is Mahler's magnum opus. It is undoubtedly the greatest and most important work he ever wrote. At its first performance, it was dubbed the "Symphony of a Thousand" owing to the number of participators. This performance at Munich on 12th September, 1900 was the climax of Mahler's life, his

greatest triumph.

The work is not intended for an ordinary concert-room but for one of those huge civic halls, where on festal occasions oratorios are performed. It is scored on a corresponding, unusually large, scale: five flutes, four oboes, french horn, four clarinets, bass clarinet, four bassoons, double bassoon, eight horns, four trumpets, four trombones, tuba, three kettle-drums, cymbals, gong, bells, glockenspiel, celesta, pianoforte, harmonium, organ, two harps, mandoline, string orchestra; placed on the organ: four trumpets, three trombones; two solo sopranos, two altos, tenor, baritone, bass, boys' chorus, mixed double chorus.

The Eighth Symphony is the last work in the "colossal style" which reached its zenith in Rome in the first half of the seventeenth

century. It is the style of Paolo Agostini, Antonio Abbatini, Virgilio Mazzocchi, and Orazio Benevoli, whose Festival Mass in fifty-three parts, composed for the consecration of Salzburg Cathedral in 1628 is a masterpiece in the manipulation of massed chorus and orchestra. An uninterrupted tradition runs from this work, through the Requiem of Berlioz and the Gran Festival Mass of Liszt, to the Eighth Symphony. We should not, however, lose sight of the tendency towards orchestral expansion, which still persisted in the first decade of the twentieth century. In this sense Mahler was influenced by the score, known to him although not yet published, of Arnold Schönberg's Gurrelieder. Yet it must at once be added that Mahler's style of orchestration is completely unlike Schönberg's. Mahler based his orchestration on making the melodic line stand out clearly; Schönberg on mixing colours and blurring contours.

In the Eighth Symphony, Mahler goes back to the type of subject used in the Second and Third Symphonies, but he treats them in the polyphonic manner, which he had mastered in the Fourth and Seventh Symphonies. The first movement, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, is, in structure and melodic invention the most mature of Mahler's compositions. The first subject, into which the full chorus breaks without any introduction, determines the character and emotional intensity of the movement:



It would lead me too far afield if I analysed this movement and showed how here, as in the subsequent "Last Scenes from Faust", Mahler's main preoccupation is always with symphonic form and not, as in a cantata, with the setting of a text. To venture this statement, it is not even necessary to know that, while the composition of the movement was in full swing, Mahler lost part of

the text, and that, anxious to lose no time, he went on composing and subsequently fitted the words to the music. The essential here is not each isolated word but the alliance of the whole spiritual content of the hymn with the musical form.

In order to give an idea of the themes and their polyphonic treatment, here is an extract from the fugue in the development, in which five motifs from the preceding section are combined:



The second part, in which an Adagio, Scherzo and Finale are linked without any pause, is dominated by solo voices and solo instruments, so that a real contrast to the first part is obtained. It is not until the coda of the whole work that the full chorus and full orchestra are re-introduced, and even then, only in plain harmony.

One can hardly believe that a composer, who had reached such a climax in his work, could come to terms with the symphonic form again. And immediately after his Eighth Symphony, Mahler actually did compose *The Song of the Earth*, which in its own way does not lag behind its predecessor. This composition for alto, tenor and orchestra has been described as a symphony, by way of justifying the extent and independent rôle of the orchestral part.

It would perhaps be more exact to speak of songs accompanied by symphonic music for orchestra. After composing this work, however, Mahler really did turn back to the symphony, astonishing as it seems. The Ninth Symphony is composed on purely instrumental lines. The whole work is permeated with a deep melancholy. It is full of premonitions of approaching death and the last movement, an Adagio, rings like a farewell to life. The progression of parts in this work, especially in the first and last movements, is peculiar to Mahler and often in an interwoven style, as in a string quartet. Another striking feature is the way in which the melodic line of the top part is often divided between the first and second violins, so that one can hardly determine which is the leading voice:



The Scherzo goes back to the melody of a country dance, like the Scherzo of the First Symphony. But it is no longer a direct description of a landscape, nor an expression of longing for the peace of the countryside, as in the Sixth. It is like a sorrowful recollection of past times. A similar mood governs the "Burlesque" in rondo form. The third movement is in a mood of despair. Nor does this sorrowful mood give way in the final movement, it is only transformed into tones of moving melancholy. In the whole of symphonic literature, I know no ending so heart-breaking as the last forty bars of this Symphony.

The Tenth Symphony, as already stated, was left a fragment and is only accessible in a facsimile edition of the sketches. The first movement and the Scherzo could be performed from these sketches. The rest will always remain a fragment. The sketches, and the extremely intimate confessions, with which Mahler interspersed them, speak of an even deeper melancholy, and one can understand the composer's wish to have these sketches destroyed

after his death. My summary of Mahler's creative work as a symphonic composer must therefore end with the Ninth Symphony.

I can imagine that a conductor, reading this sketchy attempt to bring Mahler closer to a public which knows him little or not at all, might ask this question: "What of Mahler's work could I perform? I have no time for the lengthy rehearsals necessary to work up one of the big symphonies. I have not sufficient resources at my disposal to engage many soloists or a chorus. Furthermore, I do not want to risk conducting a work which would contribute nothing to the understanding of Mahler". My answer to this would be: "Do as Nikisch did. In order to introduce Bruckner and Mahler, he took up in his programme single movements which he considered effective, and these very successfully smoothed the way for these composers". I have already spoken of the two Serenades from the Seventh Symphony as being especially well suited for this purpose. Equally suitable are single movements from the Second and Third Symphonies, and in addition, the whole of the Fourth Symphony, the Adagietto from the Fifth and the Adagio from the Ninth Symphony. If the public could once get to know the personality of the composer in this way, then, when the opportunity arose, a complete symphony could be performed. It would not fall into a vacuum but would meet with an audience which had formed from performances of The Song of the Earth and single symphonic movements, a clear idea of what to expect. I am convinced that the time is not far off when Mahler will be universally recognised as the last great representative of the Viennese classical school. For in him music once more spoke the tongue of Haydn and of Schubert, now silenced by an inexorable fate.

Appendix

THE RECORDS

[Note.—Only the more recent issues are mentioned here; there are a few other isolated fragments, mostly on old and inferior discs, details of which may be found in *The Gramophone Shop Encyclopaedia of Recorded Music.*]

Symphony No. 2 in C minor.*

Ann O'Malley Gallogly (contralto), Corinne Frank Bowen (soprano), the Twin City Chorus and Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra and Organ, conducted by Eugene Ormandy.

His Master's Voice (Dealer's Special List No. 2). Records Nos. DB. 2751-61.

Symphony No. 5 in C minor. Adagietto only.

The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Bruno Walter. His Master's Voice DB. 3406.

Symphony No. 9.*

The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Bruno Walter.

His Master's Voice special issue, comprising ten double-sided twelve-inch records (not obtainable separately).

Das Lied von der Erde.*

Kerstin Thorborg (contralto), Charles Kullmann (tenor), and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Bruno Walter.

Columbia special issue, comprising seven double-sided twelve-inch records (not obtainable separately).

Ich bin der Welt abhanden gekommen.*

Kerstin Thorborg (contralto) and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Bruno Walter.

Columbia LB. 45.

G. N. S.

^{*} Recorded at a concert performance.

An Unpublished Letter of Mahler

As a supplement to the foregoing article, Dr. Wellesz has very kindly offered one of Mahler's letters for reproduction (shown on the opposite page). This was written in the Autumn of 1908. A copy of the text is appended, and also an English translation.

LIEBER HERR WELLESZ

Schönen Dank für Ihren lieben Brief. Verzeihen Sie, dass ich ihn nur ganz telegraphisch beantworte. Ich bin hier immer—wie alle Amerikaner—in grösster Eile. Meine beiden neuen Symphonieen liegen noch in Europa in meinem Schreibtisch. Im Frühjahr kehre ich nach Wien zurück, um den Sommer in Oesterreich zu verbringen.—Im Herbst aber schiffe ich mich wieder nach Amerika ein.

Grüssen Sie herzlichst Freund Adler von mir, und sagen Sie ihm, dass ich seit Wochen mit dem Plan umhergehe, ihmzu schreiben; und bestimmt hoffe ihn ehestens zur Ausführung zu bringen.

Nochmals herzlichen Dank und Gruss von Ihrem.

ergebensten,

MAHLER.

[Translation]

DEAR MR. WELLESZ.

My best thanks for your kind letter. Please excuse the telegraphic style of my reply. Over here I am always in a great hurry—like all Americans. My two new Symphonies¹ are still lying in my writing desk in Europe. I will come back to Vienna in the spring to spend the summer in Austria. But in the autumn I shall sail again for America.

Remember me very sincerely to our friend Adlers and tell him that I have been planning for weeks to write to him; and I will certainly do so very shortly.

Again best thanks and greetings.

Yours sincerely,

MAHLER.

¹ Das Lied von der Erde and the Eighth Symphony.

^a Guido Adler, professor of history of music in the University of Vienna (1898–1927), with whom Mahler formed a lasting friendship while studying at the Vienna Conservatory.

[[]These notes were compiled by The Editor from information supplied by Dr. Egon Wellesz.]





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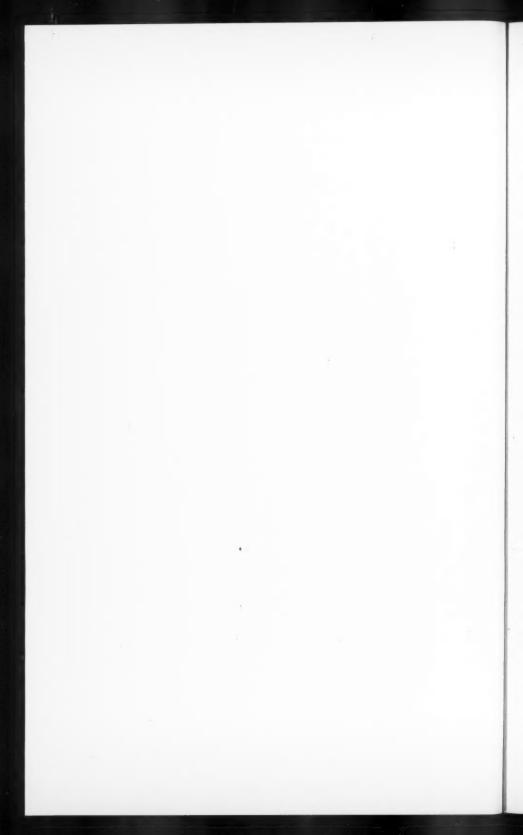
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Pietro Raimondi

BY

CECIL GRAY

The world of art, like the world of nature, has its prehistoric monsters, extinct species, freaks and "sports" of every kind; music, noless than zoology can show many queer fauna, aesthetic equivalents to the megalosaurian, the giant panda, the dodo, axolotl or manatee—some of them comic, some pathetic, some sinister, others positively sublime in their ineffable preposterousness. Of all extinct schools of music that of Naples is probably the most completely dead; of all composers who ever lived there is surely none queerer and stranger than the last of that illustrious line, Pietro Raimondi. To belong to an extinct race and at the same time to be, within that race, a freak or sport—such was the singular destiny of Raimondi. There is, indeed, something mythical and fabulous about him, and it is difficult to believe that he was born as late as 1786, or that he lived on into such comparatively modern times as 1850. He seems to belong to another world altogether.

Like many other people, probably, I had heard vaguely of the existence at some time or other of a composer, who was alleged to have performed the prodigious feats of contrapuntal virtuosity which in fact Raimondi performed; but I had never suspected that the works actually still existed and were accessible, or that their creator had lived in such recent times. It was not until I came across a reference to him in the correspondence of Liszt, quite by chance, that my serious attention was drawn to him. It is contained in a letter written by Liszt to his friend Salvatore Marchesi, dated 12th August, 1853.

"As regards great compositions, let us speak of Pietro Raimondi. You are acquainted personally, then, with that extraordinary man whose works by report are such as to cause his actual existence to seem almost problematic.—You know him, I say, and have actually seen him in flesh and blood? Three oratorios which can each be performed separately, and all three simultaneously—Joseph, Potiphar and Jacob. Try to imagine what it must be like! For myself I am astounded and stupefied and ready to proclaim the

accomplishment of a miracle. As soon as I had heard of it through the newspapers, about a year ago. I wrote at once to my friend Dehn at Berlin, the superintendent of the musical department of the Royal Library, asking him to make detailed enquiries through the Prussian Embassy at Rome concerning these pyramids of counterpoint which Raimondi has raised up with his own unaided hands. He promised to do so, and in the meanwhile sent me several fugues written by the same composer in sixteen parts of which each can be played separately, or all four simultaneously." (Liszt is obviously writing hastily:--what he means is, a set of four fugues in four parts, each of which, etc.) "This is already a prodigious combination; but a trinity of oratorios and, more than that, as you tell me, a trinity of operas-one serious, the other comic, and the two capable of being executed and represented at the same time. Jesus-Mary-Joseph! What is one to think of it all! I cannot overcome the amazement which this conception and its realization have aroused in me, and I should be greatly obliged if you would write to Raimondi, saying (I) that I present to him my humble reverence and respects as to the maestro dei maestri of the art of counterpoint, (2) that I am infinitely desirous of seeing with my own eyes the three scores of the triple oratorio and of the triple opera. So long as one has not seen and really studied such a marvel, it is difficult to believe in its existence—and besides, it is only after becoming acquainted with it that one is in a position to determine the means of execution which it would require. For it goes without saying that I am not only well disposed but sincerely anxious to do everything possible in order to secure a satisfactory performance of this immense work in Germany, which is the country in which the cultivation of the art of counterpoint is most widely spread. Request of Raimondi, therefore, that he should send me, through the intermediary of the Prussian legation in Rome, his six scores of the operas and oratorios. Moreover, I have learnt from the notice which Fétis has published on Raimondi that he has also made settings of the 150 Psalms. This is also a work in which I am naturally enormously interested, and if Raimondi would be so kind as to add some of these psalms to the other things to be sent, I should be very greatly obliged to him."

The works mentioned by Liszt in this letter, though doubtless the most prodigious and sensational of Raimondi's compositions, only represent a small part of his colossal output, which comprised no less than sixty-two operas, twenty-one ballets in two and three acts, five oratorios (not counting the triple oratorio mentioned above),

four masses with orchestral accompaniment, two masses for double chorus in the strict a cappella style, two Requiems with orchestral accompaniment, and another in sixteen strict parts, a Credo for the same number of voices, three settings of the Miserere, three of the Stabat Mater, and three of the Tantum Ergo, for various numbers of voices, two symphonies for large orchestra constructed so as to be played separately or together like the oratorios and operas mentioned in Liszt's letter, innumerable fugues and miscellaneous compositions and, finally, and in some ways perhaps most astonishing of all, a fugue for sixteen choirs in sixty-four parts, a set of four fugues in four parts, in different keys, which can be performed separately or together (this is probably the work mentioned by Liszt above, although he does not mention the different keys), and another similar set of six four-part fugues in different keys, combining into one of twenty-four parts!

Whether Raimondi ever sent his scores to Liszt as requested, or whether the latter ever saw them at all, we do not know. All we do know is that Liszt's enthusiasm waned rapidly, and we find him writing to Moritz Hauptmann in 1855 concerning Raimondi, as follows:—"Along this path there is little to seek and still less to find. The silver bfennig in the Dresden Kunst-Cabinet, on which ten Lord's Prayers are engraved, has the advantage of relative harmlessness, so far as the public is concerned, over such artistic contrivances as these". And such has been the verdict of posterity-if, indeed, posterity can be said to have paid any attention to Raimondi at all. After the first outburst of astonishment and admiration in which. as we have seen, Liszt fully shared, complete oblivion seems to have descended on Raimondi apart from the appearance of a short monograph in 1867, entitled Memorie intorno a Pietro Raimondi, by F. Cicconetti, and the usual notices to be found in the Biographie universel des Musiciens of Fétis, and in Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, which latter concludes as follows:-"Such stupendous labours are, as Fétis remarked, enough to give the reader the headache; what must they have done to the persevering artist who accomplished them? But they also give one the heartache at the thought of their utter futility. Raimondi's compositions, with all their ingenuity, belong to a past age, and we may safely say that they will never be revived".

This certainly seems to be a fairly safe prediction. It does not seem likely that any of Raimondi's transcendant feats of contrapuntal virtuosity will ever again be performed—"again" for, as we shall see, the triple oratorio at least was actually performed in public. He remains, none the less, a fascinating figure, and one who merits far more attention from musical historians, scholars, and critics than he has so far received: on more grounds than one, and for some reasons which could not possibly have presented themselves to Sir George Grove (who was himself responsible for the notice on Raimondi in the publication which bears his name). For example, he appears to be the first composer in the history of music to attempt, deliberately and systematically, to write in two or more keys simultaneously. In other, words he is, historically considered, the father of the modern device known as polytonality. If for no other reason he would surely be worthy of our serious consideration to-day.

Pietro Raimondi was born in Rome on the 20th December, 1786, of poor parents. His father died when he was only eleven years of age, and his mother married again in the following year, thereupon abandoning her son to the care of her former sister-in-law, while she departed to Genoa with her new husband. Raimondi was at first intended for the church, but after two years of study decided that he had not the vocation; he wished to be a musician and nothing less would satisfy him. His aunt consented and took him to Naples, where he studied in the celebrated conservatoire of the Pietà dei Turchini for six years, during which he acquired a complete command of the technique of musical composition as it was taught in these days—and a much more thorough and severe training it was in these days than it is now.

At the end of this period he seems to have fallen out of favour with his hitherto accommodating aunt, who brusquely informed hin one day that she had decided henceforth to live in Florence and also that she no longer intended to support him. Not being able to pay any further fees for his tuition at the Pietà dei Turchini, he decided to leave Naples and return to Rome, which he did on foot owing to lack of funds. Eventually in utter penury he made his way to Florence and sought to change his aunt's decision, but she remained obdurate. After a short spell in the hospital at Santa Maria Nuova, where he recovered his health, he decided to appeal for help to his mother. He travelled accordingly, again on foot, to Genoa, and he appears to have been successful in persuading his mother to assist him. At any rate he settled down in Genoa, and shortly after his arrival became known through his first opera, Le Bizarrie d'amore, which was played there with considerable success in 1807. From that time onwards his future seemed assured, and no year passed without an opera from his pen, commissioned by one or other of the leading opera houses of Italy.

No sooner was he successfully launched on his career, however, than there appeared suddenly on the horizon the dazzling star of Rossini, Raimondi's junior by only six years. The old Neapolitan operatic tradition, of which Raimondi was the legitimate heir and the most gifted living representative, suffered instantaneous eclipse. and the subsequent appearance in rapid succession of Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi gave the coup de grace to the venerable tradition. Raimondi continued to write for the stage, and by no means without success. In 1824 he became director of music for all the royal theatres of the kingdom of Naples, and in 1831 achieved his greatest triumph with an opera buffa entitled Il Ventaglio, which was performed throughout Italy. Altogether, it is interesting to note, he was more successful in comic than in serious opera, like so many masters of the Neapolitan school, such as Leo and Logroscino, for example. Like them again, he combined this talent for opera buffa with a complete command of all the resources of the traditional music of the church. Almost all the greatest masters of the school, indeed, from its founder Alessandro Scarlatti onwards, exhibit this curious duality of excelling equally in the light ribald and gay genre and in that of devotional solemnity. In the one they cultivated a style of the utmost simplicity and directness, in the other one of subtlety and intricacy.

Raimondi was in this respect typical of the school to which he belonged, and it is consequently not surprising to find that, defeated in the operatic field by Rossini and his brilliant successors, he should have tended increasingly as time went on to devote his energies to the cultivation of the religious field in which his supremacy could not be challenged. The Dutch scientist Marais, in his fascinating study of the white termite ant, has described how this insect, if its habitation is disturbed, abandons its normal activities and builds a fantastic kind of tower; similarly Raimondi as if in protest against the intrusion into the traditional operatic field of the all-conquering newcomers, resolved to build for himself a towering monument elsewhere, before which his contemporaries would halt in amazement and admiration—a kind of Beckfordian Fonthill Abbey "folly" of music.

In 1850, Raimondi became maestro di cappella at St. Peter's in Rome, and two years later he produced, after a gestation of exactly nine months, his astonishing triplet oratorios to which allusion was made at the outset. The work was performed in the Teatro Argentina in Rome during the month of August, 1852. On the first evening Putifar was played, on the second Giuseppe, on the third Giacobbe, and on the fourth all three were performed simultaneously

by a body of soloists, chorus and orchestra totalling four hundred and thirty. Each oratorio was directed by a different conductor separately, and on the fourth evening by all three, under the direction of a super-conductor in the person of the composer himself.

The effect, we are told, was overwhelming. To quote Fétis:-"When the audience which filled the Teatro Argentina heard the three orchestras, the three choirs, and the three groups of soloists united into a single body of over four hundred musicians in the simultaneous execution of the three works; impressed by the majesty of the ensemble in which the details, moreover, retained all their clarity, the audience was deeply moved by the supreme intellectual power which had conceived such effects; the entire house rose spontaneously to its feet, uttering shouts of admiration; an agitation impossible to describe reigned throughout the auditorium. clapping of hands, wild gesticulations, enthusiastic cheers, broke out on all sides, while women, leaning out of the crowded boxes waved their handkerchiefs. Raimondi had succeeded in containing within himself the consciousness of his powers up to the age of sixty-six; he had learnt to resign himself philosophically to the relative obscurity in which he had remained all these years, but he was unable to endure the emotion caused by the incomparable success which had come to crown his declining years. He fainted, and bystanders were obliged to carry him from the platform, away from the tumult, in order to restore him to consciousness".

Raimondi did not live to enjoy his triumph for long. Slightly

more than a year later, on the 30th October, 1853, he died.

The score, which measures no less than five feet by five (!) is in the possession of the Biblioteca Musicale di Santa Cecilia in Rome, where it can be inspected by the curious. The supreme test involved in such a tour de force as this, it need hardly be pointed out, consists less in effecting a satisfactory combination of the three works—prodigious though such a feat may be—as in creating in each one separately a level of musical interest sufficiently high to hold the attention of the audience in the earlier stages of the proceedings. In this, Raimondi has been on the whole remarkably successful. I do not suggest that to-day one could listen to each of these three oratorios separately with any great degree of pleasure, but this would apply to most, if not all, of Raimondi's music written in a normal fashion. In the music department of the British Museum Reading-room, for example, there is a vocal score of one of Raimondi's later and more successful operas, Francesco Donato, which is no

better, and no worse, than the music of any of the three oratorios considered separately. Raimondi, in fact, was not a great composer in the ordinary accepted sense of the word; on this all are agreed. It only remains to be decided whether the combination of three quite good but not exceptional works can amount to anything more than a mediocre result. Most people, I imagine, would follow Liszt and decide that it could not. I am not so sure myself. Admitting that it is not a great work of art in the accepted sense of the word, may it not still be an admirable and praiseworthy achievement of another kind? Do we not, in fact, tend to take too narrow and exclusive a view of the possibilities inherent in the language of musical sounds? The domain of the written word extends so as to include at one end a simple lyric poem and at the other a complex metaphysical or scientific treatise, or a mathematical equation. We do not reproach Kant for being inferior to Shakespeare as a poet, but that is what we are continually doing when it comes to music. Raimondi's triple oratorio is a colossal intellectual achievement: why not let us accept it and admire it as such, instead of suffering heartache, in the company of Sir George Grove, at the thought of its futility? A great intellectual achievement can never be futile; it is an end in itself as much as any work of art.

Personally, the contemplation of this astonishing tour de force does not depress me at all; I find the spectacle exhilarating. It is not as if, after all, Raimondi had devoted to its accomplishment powers that would have been better engaged in the production of "straight" works of art. His hundred and more works of art show that as an artist pure and simple he was a failure. It is these other works that give me a heartache and seem futile, as does about ninety-nine per cent. of all the music that has been and is written

in the past and in the present.

The rest of Raimondi's music in fact is no longer of any interest at all, whereas at least these prodigies of intellectual power are unique in the history of music, and I would rather spend a few hours studying them than in listening to the music of any except one or two composers in a generation. These alone matter, and if he does not happen to be one of them, a composer is better engaged in making something fantastic, ingenious, unique, as Raimondi did, instead of turning out second-rate works of art. In art mediocrity is the one unforgivable sin. It is better to be a Don Quixote than a Sancho Panza: and there is certainly something suggestive of the gentle knight of La Mancha about Raimondi which I find endearing and even positively admirable.

To put the matter in a nutshell, I entirely agree with those who would place a great work of art above any triumphs of intellect and ingenuity such as those of Raimondi, but I would sooner have them than mediocre works of art. In music a purely intellectual achievement has its raison d'être.

But is it not possible that there is more to Raimondi's work than that? Even granting that each of the three oratorios, considered separately, is second-rate, is it not possible that in the combination of the three something comes to life which is not present in each singly? Furthermore, is not the whole conception of the work merely an extension and elaboration on a vast scale of the idea, particularly favoured by the Romantics, of the combination of opposites; as for example, in the Symphonie Fantastique of Berlioz, where the lugubrious tones of the Dies Irae are combined with the Ronde du Sabbat; or in the Steppes of Central Asia of Borodin, in which two dissimilar and contrasted themes, one Russian and one Oriental, are presented separately and then combined? What else, indeed, are the concerted numbers of opera than the simultaneous expression of diverse characters, moods, sentiments and thoughts? And is it not possible that in performance the triple work of Raimondi might achieve an effect which cannot be calculated from the cold critical analysis of the separate ingredients on paper? The enthusiasm of the audience at the performance, as described above, would seem to suggest that this was so, in view of the fact that Italian musical audiences are less prone than those of any other country to be moved by demonstrations of pure intellectuality, however impressive.

It certainly does not require much imagination to conceive the possibly remarkable effect of such a combination as, for example, that of the three introductions:—that to *Potiphar* consisting in a graceful melody for women's voices only, which is set against the triumphal chant for male voices in *Joseph* and the tender and elegiac chorus of *Jacob*, even if individually they are not particularly striking; or of the succeeding combination of a recitative sung by the wife of Potiphar, in which she denounces the young stranger to her husband, accusing him of trying to seduce her, with the lament of Jacob for the disappearance of his dearly beloved son, while at the same time Joseph gives thanks to Pharaoh for the favours paid to him; or the passage in which Potiphar swears to be revenged on the traitor, while Joseph admits his brothers into his presence, and Jacob mourns the supposed death of his son. Equally striking should be the combination of a flute solo in *Potiphar* with a trumpet

solo in Jacob, set against a chorus in Joseph accompanied by harps. While the two former are in common time, the latter is in triple time and this continues for about 100 bars. Remarkable, too, is the way in which the narration of Pharaoh's dream in the first oratorio is combined with an elaborate recitative in the second, and the prayer of Jacob in the third—and so on.

I can imagine, too, that Raimondi's dual opera—an opera seria, "Adelasia" and an opera buffa, "I Quattro Rustici"—might produce a remarkable effect when performed simultaneously on separate parts of the stage, representing adjacent houses, or different floors in the same house. A heart-rending tragedy taking place in the one, and a merry farce in the other, might produce strange psychological overtones. A similar experiment, I believe, has been made in the spoken drama, with considerable success. (Actually, however, this work never saw the light, and I do not know where it is to be found. The labour of composition was completed, but Raimondi died before he had time to score it. He left instructions for the completion of the work to his friend, Cavaliere Platania, director of the Conservatorio Musicale at Palermo, but nothing seems to have come of it, so far as I can discover.)

Whatever may be the aesthetic value of Raimondi's astonishing tour de force—and only performance could justify a positive opinion—no such issue arises in connection with the other sensational aspect of Raimondi's compositorial activities, namely, the polytonal fugues. These are, frankly and avowedly, intellectual exercises and nothing else. Raimondi himself describes them as Opera Scientifica, and Nuovo Genere di scientifica Composizione. No question even of performance arises here; it is abstract, paper music, its only appeal being to the intellect, as with a mathematical equation of Einstein or Lorenz. Not even Bach himself, in the Art of Fugue, has come within measurable distance of the prodigious feats achieved by Raimondi in these works. Bach, of course, is concerned with writing music at the same time that he is demonstrating his contrapuntal virtuosity, which is something of a handicap from which Raimondi is free.

These works, then, have admittedly no aesthetic value whatsoever, but that does not necessarily mean they have no value at all. As an intellectual achievement they stand among the most remarkable productions of the human spirit in any field of activity. Two of these works are to be found in the British Museum, and can be studied there. The first is entitled *Quattro Fughe in Una*, *Dissimili nel Modo*, *Opera Scientifica*, and it contains a preface addressed

to the pupils of the Royal Conservatoire of Music in Paris, which runs as follows:—"Young students, the masterpieces of the ancient masters are the sanctuary of musical science and rightly do the names resound in celebrity of Martini, Scarlatti, Leo, Durante, Sala, and many others, whose works are given to you to study as models and as limpid fountains wherein are to be found the doctrines which constitute the true art of counterpoint.

"But human knowledge is subject to progress, and I hope to have confirmed this belief with facts, in the conviction of having contributed a little to the advancement of musical art. Unless I am mistaken I have done this in my Bassi d'imitazione, in my Quattro e Cinque Fughe in Una, and in a work entitled Nuovo Genere di scientifica Composizione, in which are united simultaneously fugues and canons in straightforward and contrary motion.

"I believed that with this I was finished. But after long reflection there was born in me the idea of pressing further forward still, believing that I should attain to the height of my ambitions if I were able to accomplish more daring and audacious enterprises by combining two fugues of four parts each. As a result of by no means effortless studies it seemed to me that I had in the end succeeded, and the penultimate example of my labour is this which I ask you to allow me to present to you, worthy scholars of a Conservatoire which has given birth to so many distinguished masters. It consists of a piece for four choirs in sixteen parts, in four different keys—i.e. the first in G, the second in C, the third in D, and the fourth in E minor. Moreover, these four fugues in four different keys can be performed separately, one at a time, or simultaneously in combination.

"Another work which I shall have pleasure in showing you later consists in a piece for six choirs of four voices each, of which each one sings in a different tonality, i.e. the first in C, the second in D, the third in E minor, the fourth in F, the fifth in G, and the sixth in A minor, and these can similarly be performed separately or all together. Behold then, what for my part I believe myself to have added to the progress of the art; these my inventions have been suggested to me by long and severe studies and by my love for the Animator of my talent. If by any chance these same should prove to have been of some utility, I shall perhaps be urged forward towards still other further enterprises which occupy my thoughts, all the more so if these should win your approval and that of learned and erudite masters."

The second, and most prodigious, of these contrapuntal inventions

of Raimondi to be found in the British Museum is that adumbrated in the foregoing preface, namely, the set of six fugues for four voices in different keys which combine together in a sextuple fugue in twenty-four parts. The threat contained in the concluding sentence of the preface, to the effect that he was meditating still further enterprises of the kind, does not seem to have been realised. It is difficult to believe that it would have been possible even for Raimondi to have gone any further in this direction. Even as it is, one would have difficulty in believing in the existence of such works as these, did they not lie before one, in black and white. Nothing like them has ever been done before or since by any other composer. nor is ever likely to be. They have a place apart in the history of music. In Raimondi, the artistic equivalent of the eccentric descendant of a long aristocratic line, the last of his race, without an heir, the venerable tradition of the Neapolitan school reaches up to the skies in a final paroxysm, and expires.

The Riddle of Schubert's Unfinished Symphony

BY

OTTO ERICH DEUTSCH

Only after this title had appeared in the prospectus of The Music REVIEW did the writer recollect that a similar title had been given to one of the two pamphlets which have recently discussed the Unfinished Symphony, Franz Schubert's Symphonie in h-moll (Unvollendete) und ihr Geheimnis. For this reason the reader must be warned at the outset that here no mysteries will be solved and the riddle which this work of Schubert's presents to us can be only partially explained. This is, perhaps, fortunate since the mystery that surrounds the B minor Symphony is one of the main causes of its influence. There was no reason for Schubert to have left us an account of the original plan of the work which at any rate was not intended as programme music, and he has not explained why he left it with only two movements. But precisely because we know so little of the history of the Unfinished Symphony it seems worth while to review it in the light of some recently discovered records which may serve to remove a number of errors.

The B minor Symphony (if we omit the piano sketches in D major of 1818 and the score sketch in E major of 1821) was Schubert's seventh, although it is usually described as the eighth. Brahms, who was too little of a philologist to respect what was unfinished, placed it after the Great C major Symphony of 1828 in the Kritisch durchgesehene Gesamtausgabe der Werke Schuberts. Before this came the lost Gmunden-Gasteiner Symphony of 1825, and before the Unfinished, apart from the above-mentioned sketches, were the six symphonies of Schubert's youth (1813-1818). Between the composition of the Unfinished and the lost Symphony occurred the first performance of Beethoven's Ninth on 7th May, 1824. This we must bear in mind in order to understand rightly Schubert's purpose expressed in his letter of 31st March, 1824, to the painter Leopold Kupelwieser in Rome where, having finished his Octet, he speaks of his Instrumental-Sachen which had almost stifled the flow of his songs and says, "In this manner I shall prepare the way to the great Symphony". There follows immediately in this letter the announcement of Beethoven's concert with "his new symphony" which

suggested to Schubert the holding of a similar concert of his own works in the next year (1825), which, however, did not take place until his last year, 1828. If Schubert's undated note to the pedagogue Joseph Peitl was written in 1823, as is assumed, it already proves his modest opinion of the B minor Symphony which later he always thought of as abandoned. "Since I have really nothing for a full orchestra which I could with a good conscience send into the world, and since there are so many works of great masters (for instance. Beethoven's overtures to Prometheus, Egmont, Coriolanus. etc.) I must, with all my heart, ask your forgiveness that I cannot on this occasion be of service to you when it would be a disadvantage to me to appear with something mediocre. Please forgive my too hasty and thoughtless assent." It is possible here that only a real overture had been discussed; and the one to the play Rosamunde was not composed till the end of 1823. But as late as 21st February, 1828 (nine months before the end of his life). Schubert sent to the publisher Schott of Mainz a list of his vorrätige Kompositionen and mentioned also 3 Opern, eine Messe und eine Sinfonie as finished "from which you may know of my efforts towards the highest in art". By this time, of course, all his operas had been written, and from the whole dozen he apparently considered only Die Verschworenen (Der häusliche Krieg), Alfonso und Estrella and Fierrabras. Likewise all his masses, except the last in E flat minor, were in existence (one of the six in Latin was even in print), but he apparently took account of only one, that in A flat major (1819) in the second version of 1822. If Schubert by that one mass meant, nevertheless, that in E flat which on the first page of the autograph bears the date June, 1828, he may also by the "one symphony" have already meant the great one in C major, which in like manner is dated March, 1828. According to his usual custom the dates at the beginning of his manuscripts indicate only the time at which the works were begun. But at this period he often neglected to note the time when the work was finished, and this suggests the possibility that in such important cases he should record only the date when the work was completed. This seems especially likely when no day is mentioned, because Schubert had written even great works within a single month. That the "one symphony" mentioned in February, 1828, did not refer to any of those composed in his youth is clear, but the B minor Symphony, which with only two movements he would hardly have offered to a publisher, was by that time no longer in his hands, and it is probable that the Gmunden-Gasteiner had already disappeared. We may therefore assume that before March,

1828, Schubert had begun his last symphony and that the conception of the whole was already in his mind. All this has been mentioned here only in order to try to make clear what Schubert himself thought of the Unfinished Symphony. Even he can have had no idea that this deserted child of his muse was destined a hundred years later to be the conqueror of the whole musical world, attaining even greater popular success than Beethoven's Ninth, and being hardly surpassed by his Fifth—the most frequently performed of all

symphonies.

Of the circumstances in which the work was written we know no more than the autograph records. The Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna possesses all the symphonies of Schubert except the Fifth in his handwriting, but only that in B minor is unbound, its fragmentary character being thus emphasised. The manuscript is dated on the first page Wien, den 30, Octob, 1822, and in this case the date is obviously that of the beginning. The date of the ending is not given because the work was not finished, even if later Schubert may have thought of it as finished. It was begun, as were the intended symphony or symphonies of 1818, with piano sketches, which are, and probably always have been, appended to the autograph. The extant sketches, a kind of piano-score arranged in anticipation, include the end of the first movement (Allegro moderato), the whole Andante con moto and of the third movement (which was to have been a scherzo or minuet, but which is also headed Allegro) the first part, as far as the trio; of the trio itself only the first sixteen bars, as far as the da capo for the leading part, have been recorded. In the sketch of the Andante the parts of some of the instruments are indicated. The score itself contains the two completed movements which, especially at the end of the Allegro moderato, differ from the sketch, and also nine bars of the third movement. This movement, which at the beginning seems not to have required a full sketch, is obviously the place where Schubert definitely broke off. It is noteworthy that the score of the B minor Symphony is the clearest and most beautifully written of all the eight extant manuscripts of Schubert's symphonies. But it is the only one of them for which he prepared sketches—a method which he followed only very exceptionally, and which is evidence of his struggle towards "the highest in art". (At this time, of course, Schubert still aspired to write great opera without knowing that some of his little songs had greater dramatic power than many of the well manufactured operas.) A facsimile of the manuscript with the sketches was published in Munich in 1924. An exact description is

given in Ernest Laaff's dissertation of 1931 for Frankfurt University, Franz Schuberts Sinfonien (Wiesbaden, 1933); of the second, more essential part of this thesis only the chapter on the B minor Symphony was published in the Gedenkschrift für Hermann Abert (Halle, 1928). In the first part of the work the errors in the earlier editions of Schubert's collected works are also noted.

Why Schubert left the work unfinished can only be conjectured. One of the Schubert films goes so far in legend and fiction as to give as the cause, the marriage of the countess Karolina Esterhazy.1 Walter Dahms, in his biography of Schubert (second edition, 1918, p. 130), writes: "The Unfinished Symphony seemed to its creator himself, sufficiently finished for him to dispense with the completion of the usual plan of a symphony—a concession to average æsthetic standards". Paul Mies endeavours thus to explain the interruption of the Symphony: "Something had interrupted Schubert in the course of the composition and he was unable to recover the sense of unity. He preferred leaving it unfinished to bringing it to an end without such unity". (Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, November 1924.) Hans Mersmann believed that Schubert was inwardly broken by the attempt to unite the contrasts in this work. (Die moderne Musik seit der Romantik, 1927.) Ernst Laaff wrote, in 1928, that Schubert was wrecked by the Scherzo, because he wished to avoid the common type, and later succeeded in avoiding it, in the Octet and in the Great C major Symphony. Walter Vetter seems to have said the last word on this for our time, "There is no more fundamental misunderstanding of the type of Schubert's work than to suppose that he aimed at developing a new kind of symphony in two movements. The B minor Symphony is beyond doubt a fragment". (Franz Schubert, Potsdam, 1934.)

There can be no thought of Schubert's having deliberately limited his work to two movements. But the authorities concur in the opinion that in this work there is something entirely new, not only in Schubert's compositions, but for all music. "The B minor Symphony bursts the bonds of tradition. Both in form and content, it presents something entirely new, something unique which after the death of Schubert was never again to be achieved." Thus writes Vetter, but as early as 1882, George Grove says in his Dictionary, "in them, . . . for the first time in orchestral composition,

¹ This music pupil of Schubert's was twelve years old when he went for the first time to the Hungarian castle of Zseliz in 1818, thus in 1824 she was eighteen, and did not marry until after his death.

Schubert exhibits a style absolutely his own, untinged by any predecessor, and full of that strangely direct appeal to the hearer. . . . At length, in the B minor Symphony, we meet with something which never existed in the world before in orchestral music—a new class of thoughts and a new mode of expression which distinguish him entirely from his predecessors, characteristics which are fully maintained in the Rosamunde music (Christmas, 1823), and culminate in the Great C major Symphony (March, 1828)". Even before this, Grove had written in another place (Arthur Duke Coleridge's translation of Schubert's Life by Kreissle v. Hellborn, London, 1869, vol. II, Appendix, p. 317 f.): "... every time I hear it I am confirmed in the belief that it stands quite apart from all other compositions of Schubert or any other master. It must be the record of some period of unusual attendrissement and depression, unusual even for the susceptible and passionate nature of Schubert. What a commentary do these two movements form on the following sentence from his Journal!—'My compositions are the result of my abilities and my distress-and those which distress alone has engendered appear to give the world most pleasure". The passage which Kreissle has incorrectly reproduced from the fragments of Schubert's Diary of 1824, as published by his friend Eduard v. Bauernfeld, really says, "My compositions are created from my understanding of music and from my distress, and those which distress alone has engendered appear to give the world the least pleasure". On still another occasion Grove wrote of this work when it was performed on October 3rd, 1900, at the Birmingham Musical Festival (Introduction to the Programme, p. 42 ff.): "In no other piece of music, perhaps, is the feeling so entirely produced that one has been in communication with the very person of the composer himself".

"The first movement is sadly full of agitation and distress", says Grove in 1882. And Ludwig Scheibler about 1914 added (in an unpublished revision of a German translation of Grove's biography), "The second movement dreams of the pastures of the blessed. One is reminded of a poetic allegory. Usually the symphony is interpreted as a certain premonition of death and a vision of heaven". But with regard to this it should be observed that Schubert's serious illness did not begin till the end of 1822, thus after his work on the B minor Symphony which he had certainly finished by the middle of November—and that it is not until later that we hear his first complaints of loneliness. Still more important, perhaps, is Scheibler's suggestion of a hermineutic exposition which

the last year has offered to us, in the pamphlet by Arnold Schering, of Berlin, cited at the beginning of this article. This author formerly explained Beethoven's Ninth Symphony by certain poems of Schiller, and still earlier five string quartets and eight piano sonatas, by various Shakespeare plays. There is an old German proverb which may perhaps justify the illustrated Bible. Was G'lehrte durch die Schrift verstan. Das weist das G'mäl dem g'meinen Mann. (What the scholar understands from the written words, pictures show to the common man.) Contrariwise one might say of such a tendency to explain masterpieces of music-What the ordinary man can easily perceive through his ear, the scholar must explain to himself with carefully selected words. In discussing the works of Beethoven, moreover, Professor Schering has sought both for their inspiration and for the subjects of individual themes in many literary classics, both German and foreign, even though there is no evidence that Beethoven so much as knew of their existence. In fact the acquisition of so wide a knowledge of literature as Professor Schering assumes Beethoven to have possessed would have made such demands upon his energies that his own creative work must have been greatly diminished. Further, however wide may be the literary knowledge of an individual scholar, what it includes must to some extent be determined by chance and thus any attempt to explain musical compositions thereby is inevitably dangerous.

But with regard to Schubert, the Berlin scholar has been exceptionally fortunate. There is an allegorical tale by him, Mein Traum, bearing the date 3rd July, 1822, thus four months earlier than that of the Symphony score. This narrative, which apparently refers to some personal experiences of the young man, Dahms, with the aid of material supplied by his fellow-worker Alois Fellner of Vienna, has used with great ingenuity in writing his biography of Schubert. Fellner assumes that Schubert's father, considering that music was taking too much of his son's attention from his ordinary studies while he attended the Stadtkonvikt as a chorister, had forbidden him his house and that it was only in 1812 at his mother's funeral that the fifteen-year-old Franz was reconciled to his father. For this, however, there is no historical evidence; it is only a hypothesis based on the narrative of the dream. The lack of other support for this theory renders the whole of Fellner's interpretation of the tale doubtful. And consequently Dahms, though accepting the theory as to Schubert's father, already omitted the explanation of the allegory in the second edition (3,000 to 5,000) of his book.

Although Schering has cited only the fourth edition (10,000 to 13,000) Fellner's theory is still accepted.²

Schering found the allegory divided into two parts and in the first part, "which has the construction of the usual sonata form", the "reprise" even gives evidence of a second dismissal from his father's house. The second part, "the account of the vision", "proceeds like the thematic development of the Andante". Thus Schubert, the poet, has himself shown us why the Symphony could have only two movements: the libretto was insufficient for more. Schering, moreover, believes that "the historians of music of the next fifty years" will have to seek "the poetic foundations of Schubert's other instrumental masterpieces". It is to be hoped that in this time there will also be the humour needed for such a task.

Before we discuss the other pamphlet mentioned at the beginning of this article, in which an amateur has anticipated this scholar, we must consider the further history of the Symphony itself.

Another hypothesis of Dahms is that Schubert endeavoured to become a member of the Vienna Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in order, if possible, to have his B minor Symphony performed by this Society. Apart from the fact that at that time there was no talk of such works between Schubert and his supporters in this musical Society, and in spite of the difficulties which stood in the way of a professional musician's admission to this Society of amateurs, he was already a member. The programme of a concert of 18th November, 1821, describes him as a member of the Society and a list of members compiled in 1844 shows him to have been enrolled in March, 1822 (Anbruch, Vienna, December, 1937). The tradition that at the end of 1822, Schubert tried in vain to become a member is, moreover, rendered incredible by the evidence of a directory of Vienna artists printed at the beginning of 1823, which mentions him as a pianist and viola player, among the active members of the Society. But whilst the Vienna Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde elected him to its representative Committee only about the middle of 1827, he was chosen an honorary member of the Steiermärkischer Musikverein in Graz in the spring of 1823, and of the Linzer Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in the autumn of the same year at the latest. In both these places Schubert had friends who were active on behalf

⁸ One argument of Fellner's is clearly false. He quotes the postcript of Schubert's letter written on 2nd November, 1821, to Josef v. Spaun, from Kreissle's biography: Schreibe recht bald an den Vater. In the original this is an Patr., which stands not for Patrem but for Patriarch of Venice, who was then the poet Ladislaus Pyrker v. Felső-Eör, an error which Fellner's father-complex has led him to retain.

of him and his art, though these were naturally fewer than his supporters in Vienna.

Iohann Baptist Ienger, a military official with exceptional musical ability, who before he was transferred to Graz in 1818 had made Schubert's acquaintance, as secretary of the Styrian Musical Society proposed the election of Schubert as an honorary member outside of that province, "since this composer, in spite of his youth, has already proved by his compositions that he will in time attain to a high place among musicians and that he will certainly be grateful to the Styrian Musical Society for having been the first of musical societies, and not an insignificant one, to have made him an honorary member". In the middle of April, the Committee of this Society wrote to Schubert in Vienna that "on account of the services you have already rendered to music" he had been elected an honorary member. The diploma which was sent to him with the statutes is dated April 6th, 1823, which suggests that the meeting of the Committee had had to be postponed. The wording of the diploma, which was discovered only in 1928 in the possession of members of the Schubert family in Vienna,3 is somewhat different from that of the diploma which Beethoven had received a year earlier. The latter was addressed as Euer Hochwohlgeboren perhaps because of the van which was often misunderstood in Austria, while Schubert was only addressed as Euer Wohlgeboren. Beethoven's diploma speaks of "the great merits of the most eminent composer of our century". In Schubert's, we have the words "in full appreciation of your already widely known merits as a musician and composer". The diploma bears the signatures of the President, the Vice-President, and of Jenger as secretary.

This document was not sent to Schubert direct, but was entrusted to the Styrian composer Anselm Hüttenbrenner, who about 1817 had been Schubert's fellow-pupil under Salieri, to pass on to his younger brother Joseph in Vienna, a government official and an enthusiastic amateur musician. Joseph then gave the diploma to Schubert, but not until September, 1823, after the latter's return from Upper Austria where he had been from the end of July to the end of August. On the 20th September, Schubert thanked the Society for this diploma which he had received only a few days previously, and expressed the hope "of being one day really worthy of this distinction". Further, he promised: "in order to express my

³ O. E. Deutsch, Schubert's steirisches Ehrendiplom (Tagespost, Graz, 8. December, 1928).

hearty thanks also in music, I am venturing as soon as possible to offer to the honourable Society one of my symphonies in score".

It is not until 14th August, 1824, that we again hear of this undertaking. Schubert's father now reminded him, while he was in Zseliz for the second time, of the honours he had received from the two societies: "If contrary to all expectations, it is still undone you should make it an imperative obligation to give a worthy proof of your gratitude". But whether either earlier or later, Schubert actually dedicated any work of his in manuscript to either society, we do not know. The Musical Society of Linz, whose diploma to Schubert is not extant, performed, on 15th November, 1824, his Tenor Aria, which in 1821 had been inserted into Hérold's opera Das Zauberglöckchen. For this performance a copy of the score was used which together with the individual parts is preserved in Linz. Laaff's suggestion that the Linz Society had received the lost symphony of 1825 cannot be proved. In Graz, after 1822, a number of Schubert's songs for one or more voices were performed but none of his instrumental music, and even when Schubert was there as a guest in September, 1827, we hear nothing of a symphony. That Schubert wished to dedicate one of his symphonies to the Graz Society is at least clear. Probably he intended to write something specially for this purpose.

No record from Schubert's lifetime tells us what happened to the manuscript of the B minor Symphony. But on 4th April, 1842, Anselm Hüttenbrenner mentioned it in a letter to his brother Joseph, Schubert's former factotum, and on 28th October, 1858 he included it in a longer list of Schubert manuscripts in his possession,

but it does not occur in his memories of Schubert of 1854.4

Only thirty years after Schubert's death is more heard of this. On 8th March, 1860, Joseph Hüttenbrenner, then Adjunkt in the Ministry of the Interior, wrote to the Kapellmeister Johann Herbeck, at that time chorus mastet of the Vienna Männergesangverein and Artistic Director of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. In this letter, Joseph asked for a ticket for a concert and for his appointment as Primo Tenore assoluto; but as a fanatical devotee of his brother whose merits he greatly over-estimated, he also used the opportunity to recommend for performance Anselm's songs—"which can be unhesitatingly acclaimed as the true successors of the Schubert

⁴ The first information was intended for Ludwig Gottfried Neumann, the second for Ferdinand Luib, and the memories for Franz Liszt, three would-be biographers of Schubert. (See *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft*, Vol. XVI, Vienna 1916).

songs"—his quartets, choruses, operas, overtures, symphonies, masses and requiems. At the end of this wordy letter, he offers this bait to Herbeck: "He [Anselm] possesses a treasure in Schubert's B minor Symphony which we rank with his Great C major Symphony, his instrumental swan song, and with all the symphonies of Beethoven—only it is unfinished. Schubert gave it to me for Anselm to thank him for having sent the diploma of the Graz Music Society through me. Anselm also has the original score of Mozart's Bergknappen-Sinfonie".⁵

In 1863, the Unfinished Symphony was first mentioned in print: C. v. Wurzbach's Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertums Österreich contained, in volume IX a biography of Anselm Hüttenbrenner, the material for which Joseph had helped to furnish. This biography twice mentions as in Anselm's possession the Symphony which Schubert had dedicated to him and which he had arranged for four hands. Not until two years later, after Kreissle had referred to it in his great biography of Schubert and urged Anselm no longer to withold it from the public, did Herbeck venture to visit him. Anselm at that time was living in Ober-Andritz near Graz and had become an eccentric, pious, seeking to forget his youth, occupied with theology and magnetism, discontented with the reception his works had received and distrustful, especially of strangers. To overcome this, Herbeck took advantage of an opportunity of accompanying his sister-in-law who was ill on her journey to Meran. and carefully planned a way of getting in touch with him without arousing his suspicion. On the morning of the 1st May, 1865, Herbeck arrived in the village and, finding that the inn where he had gone by chance was the one which the Styrian musician daily frequented, awaited him there. "I have come", he said when Hüttenbrenner arrived, "to ask you to allow one of your compositions to be performed in Vienna". Anselm thereupon escorted Herbeck to his home the Strasserhof and into his study that looked like a

b This is the Musikalischer Spass (Köchels Verzeichnis, No. 522), also called the Bauern-Sinfonie. Weber describes the peasant music with which his Freischütz begins as böhmische Bergmusik. In 1834 the Vienna periodical Hans Jörgel wrote of the music of the reisende Bergknappen (travelling miners) and as late as 1870 the itinerant musicians with their wind-instruments were called in Mainz Bergknappen on account of their costume. The manuscript of Mozart's Sextet, which in reality parodies bad composers not performers, Anselm Hüttenbrenner had received as a gift from Schubert after they had played it on the piano. The latter had been given it by Mozart's little-known friend the physician, Dr. Anton Schmidt. Schubert wanted to divide the manuscript with Anselm, but when he opposed the division Schubert gave him the whole. The manuscript has now disappeared. This work as well as the B minor Symphony Anselm arranged for four hands, perhaps stimulated by his playing with Schubert.

lumber-room. Furniture, including a closed stool, had to be pushed out of the way before all the manuscripts could be reached and spread out-first, of course, those of Anselm himself. Herbeck while still in Vienna had chosen for the performance Anselm's Overture in C minor (one of his three concert-overtures), and had obtained the manuscript from Joseph, but now he also took from Anselm two overtures to plays. This being settled, Herbeck said, "I intend to bring the three contemporaries, Schubert, Hüttenbrenner and Lachner before the Vienna public in a single concert. Naturally I would like very much to have Schubert represented by a new work". Anselm replied, "Well, I still have a lot of things by Schubert". Then from a drawer crammed with papers in an old-fashioned chest, he pulled out the symphony. Herbeck maintained his outward calm while he held the desired manuscript in his hand, turned over its pages and gradually realised the beauty of the work. "That would be quite suitable" he said, then with consummate diplomacy, "will you allow me to have the manuscript transcribed immediately at my expense?" But Anselm, who had been completely won over, replied "There is no need to hurry, you are welcome to take it with you". Later, Anselm wrote on Herbeck's visiting card "... called on me on the morning of the 1st May. 1865, in Strasserhof. Entrusted to him for performance: the original manuscript of Schubert's B minor Symphony, also the overtures to Armella, to the Räuber and some songs! I empowered him to perform my C minor Overture for the benefit of Schubert's poor relations".6 So these manuscripts, the decoy and the game, arrived on that very day in Vienna where the Schubert manuscript, after its long exile, was henceforth to remain. From Herbeck it passed to the collector, Nikolaus Dumba, and after his death, in 1900, to the archives of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, together with five of the six symphonies of Schubert's youth.

About three weeks after this fortunate hunt, on 25th May, Herbeck proposed that the Symphony should be performed at one of the next season's concerts of the Vienna Musical Society; and at noon on Sunday, 17th December of that year, in the Grosser Redoutensaal of the Imperial Palace of Vienna the first performance of the work took place with an orchestra of 109 players, the wood-winds being

⁶ The opera Die beiden Vizeköniginnen, also called Armella, was produced in Graz in 1827, with Johann Nestroy as the servant Karfunkel. The Overture to the Räuber was one of four overtures to Schiller plays by Anselm Hüttenbrenner—this was the second version of 1857, since Anselm had lost the first in 1817, after a visit to Beethoven.

doubled. The good Franz Lachner of Munich, who in his youth had also been a friend of Schubert's, and had again visited Vienna in 1864, Herbeck seems to have mentioned as the third, only the better to conceal his real aim. No work of his was performed at that time, but Anselm's C minor Overture which the critics described as Kapellmeister-musik found a place on the programme. After the two movements of the B minor, Herbeck performed, as a conclusion to the work, the Presto vivace in D major—the finale of the third symphony, which on 2nd December, 1860, he had performed as the last of four symphonic fragments till then unknown. Herbeck's diary of that time contains the sentence, "Schubert! why were you a Viennese and not an Englishman!" (Ludwig Herbeck's biography of his father, Vienna, 1885). When the Unfinished Symphony was repeated on 4th November, 1866, Herbeck no longer added the Presto: the torso could stand alone. Five weeks later, on 13th December, 1866, the work was performed in the Gewandhaus in Leipsic under the direction of Karl Reinecke whose arrangements of this work for the piano were published by C. A. Spina of Vienna in 1867, shortly after the Symphony itself which was printed in score and parts in December, 1866. The first performance in England took place in the Crystal Palace on 6th April, 1867, four days after the music was in the players' hands, and thenceforth the work was frequently performed in London. The Musical Society of Graz, which now claimed the dedication of the work, followed in 1871.7

It is noteworthy that when this Symphony was again performed in London on 19th March, 1881, the B minor Entr'acte from Rosamunde, a favourite piece with Grove, was played as the conclusion. In this connexion it is interesting to compare the opinion of August Reissmann expressed in his biography of Schubert (Berlin, 1873): "Especially the first movement gives the impression of having been written for some play . . . the second movement also is well suited to accompany or even to introduce some dramatic action—as a movement of a symphony it, like the first, is too light". Since then the weight has been shifted: Reissmann has been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

We must return now to the Hüttenbrenners. A bundle of hitherto unknown letters from Joseph to his younger brother,

⁷ Cf. Otto Lamprecht Die verlorene Handschrift in Karl Haffner's Aus dem Musikleben der Steiermark, Graz 1924.

⁶ This Entr'acte was first performed in London in 1866, and later, in 1873, it was played in the Crystal Palace Theatre between the first and second act of Hamlet.

Dr. Andreas Hüttenbrenner (Oberlandesgerichtsrat in Graz), which is now in the possession of Dr. Weis v. Ostborn of that city, contains many items concerning Schubert and Anselm and Joseph Hüttenbrenner which deserve to be published. Here only those which concern the Unfinished Symphony will be cited. On 6th June, 1865, about a month after Herbeck's visit to Anselm, Joseph wrote, "The affair with Anselm is very annoying! Herr Herbeck the vice-choirmaster of the Hofkapelle, came to me several times and then went to Graz and obtained from him [Anselm] the B minor Symphony of Schubert, original variations by Schubert dedicated to Anselm, and the Overture to the Räuber, I gave him a sonata and a symphony. He will have works by Schubert and Anselm given in the same programme". Schubert's thirteen piano Variations, in A minor, composed on a theme of Anselm Hüttenbrenner in August, 1817, were published in 1867 by Spina, the manuscript came by way of Herbeck and Dumba to the Vienna Stadtbibliothek. Anselm left, among other things, a number of piano sonatas some of which were printed and six symphonies two of which Schubert had mentioned with interest in a letter of 21st January, 1819.

On 6th June, 1866, Joseph wrote further, "Anselm is now ranked as a second Cherubini and Beethoven. The Overture in C minor was great and beautiful. But there are many enemies in the Musical Society!" Then we must notice a letter written on oth October, 1866, by Herbeck to Anselm himself (Herbeck's Biography, App. p. 73). From this it appears that the theme of Schubert's piano Variations was taken from one of Anselm's three string Quartets,9 which fact Anselm himself has recorded in 1842 and 1858. Further we learn from this letter that in 1865 Herbeck had received only a copy of these Variations (now in the possession of the Vienna Männergesangverein), and only now asked for the original in order to publish it with Schubert's B minor Symphony and Anselm's C minor Overture, "in aid of a fund for poor pupils of the Conservatorium and relatives of Schubert". The overture by Anselm Hüttenbrenner which Herbeck asked for at the same time, apparently only for diplomatic reasons, was never published.

The most important of the newly-discovered letters of Joseph is that of 11th February, 1867. It is somewhat confused so that in order better to understand it, it has been necessary to add to, and alter, the punctuation. "Herbeck has treated him [Anselm] and

 $^{^{\}rm 0}$ Op. 12 or 13 from 1871, printed in Vienna. In 1933 the manuscript was still in Graz.

me falsely. He obtained the Overture with the separate parts from me. And the Symphony by Schubert I had with me for many vears until Anselm finally took it to Graz, and in Radkersburg arranged it for four hands. This arrangement for four hands I lent him [Herbeck]. Schubert gave me the Symphony at the Schottentor for the Graz diploma and dedicated it to Anselm. Herbeck didn't even give me a ticket for the rehearsals. The doorkeeper was unwilling to admit me! After I had lunched with Herr Hofrat v. Rokitansky and his niece Lina, I went to the second rehearsal and asked Herbeck if I might have two tickets for the performance for the wife of the Hofrat and Lina, to this he replied that they must pay! The next day I went to the box office and paid four gulden, the secretary gave me two tickets [for nothing]. At the rehearsals they were irritated with me. He didn't go through the Overture although Herr v. Kreissel said it was wonderful. The Wiener Zeitung and other papers praised it. At the last rehearsal they also tried to keep me out! Why didn't Herbeck want to let me in? Because I wouldn't lend him two Schubert operas which he saw that I had. He himself is writing an opera. And to what purpose? Will he have the Society produce them? Anselm made a great mistake to give him the Symphony. Only after they had played ten overtures of his [Anselm's], and a symphony, should he have come out with it! Besides the Schubert Symphony, Anselm gave him the Overture to the Räuber for piano and orchestra, then his first Requiem, then original Variations by Schubert on a theme of Anselm, then a string quartet; probably all in vain!"

Finally, on the 25th of October, 1867, Joseph returned once more to the subject of the Unfinished Symphony: "I shall write to Anselm. His Schubert Variations composed in 1817 are displayed in the Kohlmarkt [where Spina the publisher had his shop]. The B minor Symphony by Schubert is engraved for Spina, and arrangements for two, and four hands, by Reinecke are also engraved.

But Anselm sent no reply to Herbeck".

Something must still be said in explanation of the longer letter. First, that Frau Marie v. Rokitansky (née Weis), the wife of the great pathologist who was related by marriage to the Hüttenbrenners, had as a girl sung the Erlkönig at home with Schubert as accompanist. Anselm's Overture in C minor, which Herbeck was unwilling to rehearse, he had probably obtained from Joseph before going to Styria and had asked Anselm only for permission to perform it. That Anselm had at the same time, and apparently in return for the acceptance of the Overture, given him permission to perform

the B minor Symphony, Joseph later regarded as wrong, and wished that the services which Herbeck rendered for this had been far greater. Thus he felt that the pressure which Herbeck had so skilfully overcome had been much too slight. Joseph's devotion to his brother, in fact, can be explained only pathologically. Much evidence of this is to be found in his papers, and here only two passages from his letters need be cited. On 28th November, 1863, he declared that it would be just to rank "Anselm with Mozart and Beethoven and before Schubert." And on 10th December, 1867, he described Anselm as "the greatest composer in Austria" (he may have meant only the first of living composers, a strong enough expression).

The arrangement for four hands of the Unfinished Symphony which, in 1853, Anselm had made at Radkersburg, in Styria, where he lived from 1852 to 1855, Herbeck had also received from Joseph. The two manuscripts, the autograph of the B minor Symphony and the piano arrangement (both now in the same building in Vienna) Herbeck did not return: but left the latter to the Vienna Männergesangverein and the former to Dumba who also received the Variations. It appears that all communications between Herbeck and the two brothers were broken off at the end of 1866, and that Anselm had sent no reply to Herbeck's enquiry as to whether Spina might publish his arrangement for four hands with that for two hands by Reinecke, with the result that the latter also wrote an arrangement for four hands.

The two operas by Schubert to which Joseph alluded were obviously Des Teufels Lustschloss in the second version of 1814, and Claudine von Villa-Bella of which only the Overture and the first act are extant.

Herbeck at that time intended to make an opera of Mosenthal's Prinz Magnus von Schweden (Die Folkunger), but never accomplished this.

Anselm's first Requiem in C minor, written in 1825, which was sung at the memorial service for Schubert in 1828 in Vienna, and one of the first two string quartets which contains the theme of Schubert's Variations, Herbeck appears to have taken away in print, since Anselm makes no mention of them in his notes on the visiting card.

But the most interesting piece of new information is that Schubert gave the Unfinished Symphony to Joseph in the street in front of the *Schottentor*, probably in September, 1823, perhaps on the way to the General Hospital; and that Joseph had kept it for

years, possibly till March, 1827, when Anselm came to Vienna to the dying Beethoven. 10 In writing to his younger brother. Joseph repeated what he had said to Herbeck, that Schubert had given the Symphony to Anselm out of gratitude for the diploma. Thus it now seems proved beyond doubt that it had not been dedicated to the Steiermärkischer Musikverein which never received the promised offering. It is true that Anselm Hüttenbrenner had been an honorary member of the Society since 1820, but in 1823 he had no special office. It was not until 1825 that he became Artistic Director of the Society, which post he retained until 1839, but he did little in this office to increase Schubert's fame either before or after the latter's death. How great a reward he had received for his trifling service in sending the diploma to his brother in Vienna, he may have guessed. This only makes it the more regrettable that he kept such a treasure hidden for forty years, and that it then had to be obtained from him by strategy.

And now a word as to musical opinion after Schubert's death. In the last seventy years it has made up for the neglect of which Schubert's friend was guilty. Schubert himself who had abandoned the Symphony and had given it away unconditionally as a token of gratitude and remembrance to Anselm Hüttenbrenner would certainly be astonished to hear that it has now become the favourite of the world. This is in some small measure due to the unpleasant handiwork of Herr Berté and his associates who through the *Dreimäderlhaus* ("Lilac Time") and its successors, have popularised Schubert in so painful a manner that the B minor Symphony has even been turned into jazz. One of the numerous Schubert films (as has been mentioned above) has also contributed towards this.

Thus it is not surprising that in 1928 the Columbia Graphophone Company considered offering a prize for the best completion of the Unfinished Symphony. But their representative's visit to Vienna in connexion with this plan led to the adoption of a better course. The first prize, which was won by the Swede, Atterberg, was for the best new symphony after the manner of Schubert. But a smaller prize offered for the discovery of the lost *Gmunden-Gasteiner Sinfonie* failed to achieve its purpose. After J. Joachim had arranged the Grand-Duo Op. 140 as a symphony and J. F. Barnett had completed

¹⁰ The house where Beethoven died also formerly stood before the Schottentor. But the house where Schubert's Symphony was composed is still standing in the City, at the corner of Spiegelgasse and Göttweihergasse, in the Göttweiherhof (renovated in 1828).

the score sketch of the E major Symphony an attempt was made. in 1802, to finish the Unfinished Symphony: the Saxon, August Ludwig, crowned Schubert's work with a "Philosophical Scherzo" as a third movement and a "March of Fate" as a fourth. The year 1928, despite the change in the purpose of the Columbia prize, produced four further attempts including one by Frank Merrick. W. Vetter, in his biography of Schubert, states that F. v. Weingartner finished the B minor Symphony, whereas, in reality he had only made a more successful attempt to complete the E major sketch. Equally incorrect is the statement by C. Reinecke in Spemann's Goldenes Buch der Musik of 1900, that N. Gade's Eighth Symphony in B minor contained two movements which were originally intended to be added to Schubert's Symphony. This has been proved by Herbert F. Peyser in his valuable article "The Epic of the Unfinished", published in The Musical Quarterly, New York, October, 1928.

Before leaving the subject, we must give some attention to the pamphlet of the amateur cited above. Rudolf Feigl's Klar um Schubert. Beseitigung von Irrmeinungen, Fehlangaben usw. (Linz. 1936, and revised edition, 1938.) The title is difficult to translate because it is hardly real German. The first chapter which concerns the Gmunden-Gasteiner Sinfonie the present writer has already refuted (Anbruch, Vienna, May, 1936). The second chapter, which has been little altered in the second edition, is intended to show the B minor Symphony "in a new light". But it is mainly devoted to a repetition of the old errors in defence of Anselm Hüttenbrenner. What are new are some daring hypotheses most of which are untenable in the face of facts already known or since discovered. Some suggestions, indeed, betray the amateur's lamentable ignorance of the object of his devotion; for example, the assumption that Schubert only dated the Symphony when he gave it to Joseph Hüttenbrenner and intended "to complete it on some future occasion if the two movements proved successful". The only ray of light in this "new illumination", is to be found in one of the long foot-notes to the effect that Schubert, in 1823, may have intended to complete the score sketch of the E major Symphony of 1821 and use it as his offering to the Steiermärkischer Musikverein. Sapienti sat; but Feigl writes fourteen pages on the Unfinished Symphony, and the whole pamphlet is written in this manner.

But though we must deny any connexion between the Symphony in B minor—"a black key", as Beethoven once said—and Schubert's life, and decline to use the work in any way as biographical material, we may still venture upon a comparison. Just as this wondrous work broke off abruptly without our being able for certain to say why, so, for our understanding, Schubert's life was incomprehensibly short. And yet he and this work attained to the highest perfection. The economy of nature is at once prodigal and thrifty.

(Translated by Dr. K. WOOD-LEGH)

Appendix

[In this list are cited the works in English concerning the Unfinished Symphony which have not already been mentioned in the text.]

J. Ella: Schubert's Composition—"The Musical Union Matinées" (Programme), vol. 29, No. 3, London, 20th May, 1873, p. 11.

H. F. Frost: Schubert, London, 1881, p. 54 s.

George Grove: Crystal Palace, Season 1880-81, Programme of the eighteenth Saturday Concert, 19th March, 1881, p. 572-580.

Helen Calle: Schubert's Unfinished Symphony—"Academy", vol. 71, No. 1791, 1st September, 1906, p. 208 s.

H. T. Storer: The Story of Schubert's Unfinished Symphony—"Etude", Philadelphia, vol. 26, 1908, p. 125.

Edmondstoune Duncan: Schubert, repr. London, 1912, p. 214-222.

A. B. Smith: Schubert, I. The Symphonies C major and B minor, London, 1926, p. 30-48.

Eugène Goossens: The Symphonies of Schubert—"Chesterian", vol. 10, No. 74, November, 1928, p. 53 s.

Albert Roussel: Schubert the Symphonist—"Chesterian", vol. 10, No. 74, November, 1928, p. 46 p.

Donald N. Ferguson: A History of Musical Thought, New York (London), 1935, p. 320 s.

Donald F. Tovey: The B minor Symphony—"Essays in Musical Analysis", vol. 1, London, 1935, p. 211-215.

Compton Mackenzie: On finishing the Unfinished Symphony (Sept. 1928)

—"A Musical Chair", London, 1939, p. 110-117.

Some Early Mozart Editions

BY

PAUL HIRSCH

The bibliography of first editions and other early printings of the works of Mozart has made considerable progress in recent years. The important article by O. E. Deutsch and C. B. Oldman (in the Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, 1931-2) and the extremely informative study by G. de Saint-Foix (in the Mélanges de Musicologie offertes à L. de la Laurencie, Paris, 1933) have considerably widened our knowledge. Alfred Einstein has collected and summed up all the available evidence relating to the more important first and early editions, and this is now incorporated in his masterly new edition of Köchel's thematic catalogue (3rd edition, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1937). Einstein, as he states in his preface, is aware that the bibliographical material at his disposal was not always conclusive, and that there is still considerable room for speculation and for further investigation before all the first editions can be definitively described, or the early editions listed in full. C. B. Oldman's valuable little book, Collecting Musical First Editions (London, 1938) also makes it clear that new discoveries are always coming to light. It is evident that in this branch of musical scholarship the 'πάντα ρεί' will be a fact for many years to come.

Latterly M. Pincherle has published some new evidence on "Quelques Editions Anoiennes de Mozart" in the *Revue de Musicologie* (1938, Nos. 66–67, p. 103 ff.). He gives a number of editions—mostly French—which are not listed in Köchel-Einstein.

The following pages give some details of early editions of Mozart which I have discovered and added to my music library in recent years. They consist partly of editions which hitherto appear to have been entirely unknown, and partly of some which, while they are mentioned by Einstein are not quoted with the significance which I have given to them here. They do not seem to have been fully described anywhere, and the purpose of this article is to describe them in a bibliographical style suitable to their importance.

CATALOGUE

Abbreviations: D.-O. = Otto Erich Deutsch und Cecil B. Oldman, "Mozart-Drucke" in Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft, Leipzig, 1931–32, pp. 135–150 and 337–351.

K.III. = Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Tonwerke Amade Mozarts . . . von Dr. Ludwig Ritter von Köchel. Third edition, edited and enlarged by Alfred Einstein. Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel, 1937.

The end of each line in the lettering on the title-page is denoted by the sign "/".

A detailed bibliographical description of numbers 2, 4 and 5 in the present list has been reserved for Volume IV of the catalogue of my music library.

1. Köchel Nos. 6 and 7. English edition by Bremner.

Sonates / Pour Le Clavecin / Qui peuvent se jouer avec l'Accompagnement de Violon / Dediées / A Madame Victoire / De France / Par J. G. Wolfgang Mozart de Salzbourg / Oeuvre 1./

London / Printed and Sold by R. Bremner, at the Harp and Hautboy / opposite Somerset House in the Strand. / where may be had opera 2d. and 3d. / Price 3,sh 6,d

Two instrumental parts, obl. 4to. I. (Piano part) I leaf (Title, reverse blank), I4 pages, (p. I, blank). 2. (Violin Part) 5 leaves, (p. I, blank).

Fastened to the head of the title-page is a small printed shield "Sold by J. Bremner. New Bond Street No. 108". There are engraved flowers in each corner of the single rule frame on the title-page.

This is a "Titelauflage"—i.e. an issue which agrees in every way with the first printing with the exception that it has a new titlepage—of the first printing of these Sonatas, which were published in Paris in 1764 and are described in K.III, p. 6. The Paris plates were used in the production of this English edition. These plates were also used (according to personal information from Mr. Cecil B. Oldman) for the London edition of 1765, which was published privately by Leopold Mozart. The Mercure de France stated already in February, 1765, of the original Paris edition (see K.III, loc. cit.)"... il n'en reste que très peu d'exemplaires, l'édition étant épuisée et les planches n'en étant plus en France". In the present edition the title-page follows that of the first edition down to the word "Salzbourg"; from "Oeuvre 1" onwards the plate has been altered. D.-O. state, on p. 140, in reference to the London printing "im Selbstverlag" (i.e., published privately by the author): "With K.8.9 printed by Robert Bremner, but his name is mentioned only

in the two-part edition". It would appear that Leopold had resold the plates to Robert Bremner. This Bremner printing is not in the British Museum, neither does it appear to occur in the other great collections in Great Britain. This detailed description, therefore, appears to be needed. The edition is not listed in K.III.

2. Köchel No. 620. First complete piano and vocal score of "The Magic Flute".

Die / Zauberflöte / in Clavierauszug / von / Herrn W. A. Mozart / Zu finden in Wienn, in dem musikalischen / Magazin in der untern

Breunerstrasse. No. 1158./ 203 pp. qu. 40.

D.-O., p. 150, are of the opinion that this edition, like that simultaneously begun by Artaria in Vienna, remained uncompleted. Whereas this is true of the Artaria edition, that of the *Musikalisches Magazin* was brought to completion. Three copies can be cited—in the Mozarteum, Salzburg: in the collection of A. van Hoboken: and the present copy—and it is quite possible that time will discover other copies. K.III, p. 791, lists this printing correctly as the first piano and vocal score.

The Musikalisches Magazin was conducted by Leopold Kozeluch (born 1748, died 1818), the prolific and distinguished Bohemian composer. Mozart, who was associated with him, wrote on 18th July, 1789, to Puchberg (Schiedermair II. 303, Anderson III. 1384): "meanwhile I am composing 6 easy clavier sonatas for Princess Friederike and 6 quartets for the King [Friedrich Wilhelm II of Prussia], all of which Kozeluch is engraving at my expense"—nevertheless this edition was not undertaken. (Cf. also D.-O., p. 149 under K.575, 576.)

The piano and vocal score appeared from November 1791 in separate numbers and was presumably completed in 1792. Nos. 7, 15 and 16 were published by Kozeluch in November 1791, still in

Mozart's lifetime.1

The gathering together of the separate numbers as a complete piano and vocal score is plainly to be seen from the still recognisable older pagination of the separate parts. A new, continuous

¹ It is well known that not one of Mozart's operas appeared in full score during his lifetime, either engraved or printed from type, and only one as a piano and vocal score. The latter was *Die Entführung*, published by Schott in Mainz in 1785, edited by Abbé Starck. It was, moreover, published without the consent of the composer, who had the intention of publishing an edition himself with Torricella, in Vienna, but abandoned it after the appearance of the unauthorized edition. Leopold Mozart writes very indignantly to his daughter of the Starck piano arrangement on 16.xii.1785 (Schiedermair IV. 309, Anderson III. 1334).

pagination is added by a really clumsy engraver, beginning on p. 2 on the reverse of the title-page. The separate printings were published either with a separate title-page,—in this case without place, publisher's name, or plate-number—or with a title at the head of the first page of music only,—in this case most frequently with both plate-number and publisher's imprint. The original title-headings were retained in the complete edition: the separate title-pages had to disappear.

A number of the separate printings have survived. In the catalogue (published by the Mozarteum) of the "Die Zauberflöte" exhibition in the Mozarthaus in Salzburg, 1928, five of these parts are found as follows:—

Catalogue No. 112 "Marsch während dem Zug in den Wahrheitstempel" (Property of the Nationalbib. Vienna).

130 "Dies Bildnis ist . . . " (Property of the Mozarteum).

143 Priestermarsch. do. do. do.

150 "In diesen heil 'gen Hallen." do. do.

154 "Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen" do. do.

Several of the parts are also in the collection of A. van Hoboken. (Cf. further the gathering together of separate parts in K.III, p. 791.)

In my library the following are available:

r. Terzett No. 6 (engraved outside title) Terzetto. / / : du feines Täubchen nur herein: / / Beÿm Clavier / aus der Opera / die Zauberflöte. / von Herrn Mozart. / No. 3. / (Without place, publisher, or plate-number) 6 pp.

2. Terzett No. 19: (engraved outside title) Terzetto. / / : Soll ich dich Theurer nicht mehr sehen: / / Beÿm Clavier / aus der Opera / die Zauberflöte. / von Herrn Mozart. / No. 4. (Without place, publisher or plate-number.) 8 pp.

In the complete piano and vocal score the separate title in these two pieces has disappeared, but the engraved music coincides completely and is prepared from the same copper plates; new pagination, 50-54 and 136-142, is added.

3. From Finale Nr. 21: (title-heading) ARIA/ /: Papagena! Weibchen! Täubchen! meine Schöne!: / beim Clavier / aus der Zauberflöte / von Herrn Mozart / in Wien in dem musikalischen Magazin in der Unternbreunerstrasse No. 1152. 6 pp. Plate-No. 116.

This separate printing is taken over for the score with no alteration whatsoever beyond the addition of the pagination 176-181. In some parts of the score the address of the Musikalisches Magazin is given as 1152, and in others as 1158 in the Unterbreunerstrasse.

No. 3. Köchel No. 620. First Italian edition of "The Magic Flute".

Il / Flauto magico, / Dramma Eroicomico, / In Due Atti. / Aggiustato per il Cembalo. / La Musica / è / del celebre Maestro / Volfgango Amadeo Mozart./

Lipsia, / Nella Stamperia di Breitkopf. / Oblong 4to. Printed

from type.

This is an extract which does not contain the entire opera, but only the following pieces, all with an Italian title heading, in the following order, together with a title-leaf, the reverse of which is blank:

(Overture) Overtura, / dell'Opera: il Flauto magico del Sig. · Mozart. pp. 1–8.

Nr. 9: MARCIA, / dell Opera. . . 2 pp. 1-2.

" 2: ARIA. / Gente, è quì l'uccellatore etc. / dell'Opera. . . pp. 1-2.

" 3: ARIA. / Oh! cara immagine etc. / dell' Opera. . . pp. 1-4.

" 4: Scena. / Non paventar, amabil figlio. / dell' Opera . . . pp. 1–5.

" 6: Terzetto. / Colomba mia, venite quà. / dell'Opera . . . pp. 1-6.

" 7: DUETTO. / Là dove prende Amor ricetto / dell'Opera . . . pp. 1-4.

From Finale Nr. 8: Terzetto. / Te guida a palma nobile,/dell' Opera. . . pp. 1–4.

Do. Coro./ Oh! cara armonia! / [and Duetto: Se potesse] dell' Opera . . . pp. 1-3.

Do. ARIA. / Quel suono, ohimè! quel suon perchè, / dell'Opera

Nr. II: DUETTO. / Fuggite, o voi, beltà fallace, / dell'Opera . . . pp. 1-2.

" 10: ARIA. / Possenti Numi, Iside, Osiri, / dell' Opera . . . pp. 1-2.

" 13: ARIA. / Regna Amore in ogni / dell'Opera. . . pp. 1-3.

" 14: Aria. / Gli angui d'inferno sentomi nel petto. / dell' Opera. . . pp. 1-4.

" 15: Aria. / Quì sdegno non s'accende / dell'Opera . . . pp. 1-4.

 $^{^{\}mathtt{B}}$ The wording: "dell 'Opera: il Flauto magico del Sig. Mozart" is common to all the title headings.

Nr. 16: Terzetto. / Già fan ritorno i Genii amici. / dell 'Opera. . . pp. 1-4.

" 17: ARIA. / Ah! lo sò più non m'avanza etc. / dell'Opera. . . pp. 1-2.

" 18: CORO DI SACERDOTI. / Grand' Isi! grand' Osiri! / dell' Opera. . . pp. 1-3.

" 19: Terzetto. / Dunque il mio ben non vedrò piu? / dell' Opera . . . pp. 1-6.

" 20: ARIA. / Colomba o tortorella etc. / dell'Opera . . . pp. 1-2. From Finale Nr. 21: DUETTO. / Tamino mio! oh qual felicità! /

dell'Opera... pp. 1-4.

Do. do. MARCIA. / Vinto è il furor del rogo impuro./
dell'Opera... pp. 1-3.

Do. do. Aria. / Papagena! cara! bella! tortorella!/ dell'Opera . . . pp. 1-6.

Do. do. Aria. / Oh! sciocco me! or lo rammento,/ dell' Opera . . .pp. 1-2.

Do. do. DUETTO. / Pa, Pa, Papagena / dell'Opera . . . pp. 1-6.

Nos. 1, 5 and 12 as well as the greater part of the finales Nos. 8 and 21 are, therefore, lacking, and this is also true of the copy in the British Museum.

This, the first Italian piano and vocal score of *The Magic Flute* appeared in a similar make-up and format to that of the simultaneously issued German editions of the opera, which were published in Leipzig with the imprint: "In Commission der Breitkopfischen Musikhandlung". The year of publication may be set as 1794, a date already given by Gerber (III. 486), for the Leipzig editions, which can only mean those published by Breitkopf. The type for the edition in the Italian language was completely re-set. That this most German of operas should have been published so early in an Italian edition is evidence on the one hand of the leading position occupied by Italian opera at that time, and on the other, of the depth of the impression made throughout the world of music by the appearance of *The Magic Flute*. The translation is the work of Giovanni de Gamerra, and it was first performed in Italian in Dresden on 2nd April 1794 (Cf. K.III. 792).

K.III does not list this edition. There is a copy in the British Museum (F.822. Cf. Barclay Squire II, 165), which agrees absolutely with mine except that in it the Rosmäsler engraving to Aria No. 13 is also present. This engraving appears in one of the German Breitkopf selections in my collection.

Nos. 4-6. Some editions published by Rellstab in Berlin, 1788-92.

FOREWORD

Despite the numerous Rellstab editions listed in K.III there must be a number of early editions of Mozart issued by this publisher which have not so far been identified. It is unlikely, in view of the rarity of most publications of this origin, that all of them will ever be discovered.

Johann Karl Friedrich Rellstab (born in June 1759, died in 1813). was an important personality in the musical life of Berlin as a composer, pianist, writer on music, and publisher. He was a friend of Fasch and Zelter and earned the general attention and great respect of his contemporaries. Oscar Guttmann, in a dissertation which appeared in Berlin in 1910, entitled Johann Karl Friedrich Rellstab. Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte Berlins, has gathered together all that could be ascertained of the life, work and publishing activity of Rellstab. Guttmann gives, as Appendix II of his work, an attempt at a complete list of the musical publications issued by Rellstab, for which he relied upon a Vollständiges Verlags-Verzeichnis issued by Rellstab at latest in 1790, and followed by 15 supplements published up to 1800. Guttmann's enumeration of the publications, as the author indicates at the beginning, has certain omissions compelled by necessity: in cases where the works can be referred to, most of them are known in only one or two copies.

Considering the great number of publications issued by Rellstab it is astonishing that so few of them appear to have survived. The dating of the editions is, in general, not difficult because Rellstab was in the habit of ornamenting his published offspring with Opus numbers—Opus I appeared in 1785—a practice in which, unfortunately, he was not emulated by any other contemporary publisher, their publication—or plate-numbers not always being a reliable substitute. (Cf. on this point Kathi Meyer, Was sind musikalische Erstausgaben? in Philobiblon, VIII, 1935, p. 181 ff.).

All the Rellstab publications known to me are cleanly set in type: as a rule they have tasteful rococo borders, frequently also vignettes, cut in wood, on the title-page, and sometimes also in the text. An upright format (ca. 34 x 20 cm.), which is uncommon with other publishers, was often used by him. Several works have catalogues of his publications which are of considerable interest; they should be closely examined some day for the information they may afford, for they are important documents of the taste of the Berlin public of the period. Furthermore, they are evidence of the courageous

enterprise of Rellstab who was also the originator of the music lending library, of which he had a widely used example.

It also follows from Guttmann's book that the Rellstab piano and vocal score of *The Magic Flute*—(itself unknown to Guttmann)—the title-page of which is illustrated by Schiedermair (V. Plate 92), cannot have appeared so late as 1800, as assumed by Schiedermair and K.III. It bears the Opus No. CLVI, and accordingly must have appeared in 1793 at latest. The example illustrated from my collection is in any case described as "Zweyte Auflage", nevertheless it is improbable that it appeared more than a year or two later than the first printing.

Rellstab was also known as a great admirer of Gluck and published a number of his works in piano arrangements, of which

I possess:

 Iphigénie en Tauride. Obl. 4to. Publication Opus LIV, published 1789, Guttmann, p. 155.

 Orpheus. Obl. 4to. Publication Opus LXXVII. Published about 1791. Guttmann, p. 157.

4. "Neue Auswahl von Gesängen," Berlin ca. 1788. Containing Nos. 8 and 12 from Köchel No. 384 "Die Entführung aus dem Serail."

Neue / Auswahl von Gesängen / aus Opern / die / auf der Nationalbühne / zu Berlin / vorzüglich gefallen haben / fürs / Clavier und Gesang eingerichtet. / Erstes [bis sechstes] Stück. / [there follows, on each of the six parts the list of contents in an ornamental printed frame] Zweyte Auflage. / Ladenpreiss 10. Gr. Op. XLII. a. d.D. 4 Bogen / (respectively XLII b,c,d,e-d.D., each four signatures: part 6 is again described as Op. XLII.b d.D. [i.e. "der Druckerey"], and has also 4 signatures.) Berlin, / Im Verlage der Rellstabschen Musikhandlung und verbesserten Musikdruckerey / 6 parts, upright format (34 x 20 cm.).

Printed from type. Rococo border on the title-pages. Twelve pieces in all of the *Neue Auswahl* were published, all of which are in the Royal Hausbibliothek in Berlin (M.6048). Guttmann (op. cit.), p. 153, states that Nos. 1–6 appeared at the end of 1788, the remaining six parts in 1789. All the songs are written in the treble clef. In the foregoing six parts the two following arias by Mozart

are contained:

- I. (Number 4, pp. 53-56) Aus Belmont und Constanze (Aria No. 12); Welche Wonne welche Lust.
- 2. (Number 6, pp. 81-83) Aus Belmont und Constanze (Aria No. 8): Durch Zärtlichkeit und Schmeicheln.

In addition the six parts include separate numbers from Dittersdorf's *Doctor und Apotheker* (first performance 1786) and from Dalayrac's *Nina ou la folle par amour* (first performance 1787). Part 7 should contain, according to Guttmann, a further number

from the Entführung.

On the reverse of the title in parts 1-4 and 6 is found a duplicate catalogue of Verlagsartikel der Rellstabschen Musikhandlung. . . . In part 5 the catalogue is varied as Neueste Verlagsartikel. . . and is arranged in a different order. On the last page of part 6 is a list Fortsetzung der Prenumeranten, which includes 36 names. The interval between the first printing of the Neue Auswahl and my "Second impression" is not at present determinable with any degree of accuracy. The edition is not listed in K.III.

5. "Allerneueste Auswahl von Gesängen", Berlin, 1791-2, containing four numbers from K384, "Entführung", three numbers from K.492, "Le Nozze di Figaro" and five numbers from K.527 "Don Giovanni."

Allerneueste / Auswahl von Gesängen / aus / den vorzüglichsten Opern / der deutschen Bühne / fürs / Clavier und Gesang eingerichtet. / Erstes Stück. / Inhalt. / (with printed ornamental rule border).

Aus der Oper Don Jouan Pag. /
Sinfonie – – – – I /

Aus der Liebe im Narrenhause. /
O wie wollt' ich dich belohnen etc. - 9 /
Ladenpreiss 10 Gr. Op. CVI. a d.D. 4 Bogen./

Berlin, / Im Verlage der Rellstabschen Musikhandlung und verbesserten Musikdruckerey./

2 vols. Upright format (33 x 19 cm.) Vol. 1, 1 leaf, 84 pp. Vol. 2, 1 leaf, 88 pp., 1 leaf.

Besides the title to the first part there is available only a further title to the "Siebentes Stück" at the beginning of the second volume, on which is the further note: Im Discant- und Violinzeichen zu haben. The printed lists of contents in parts 2–6, which are ornamented by marginal rules, are fastened to the insides of the front wrappers. In parts 8–12 they are on the inside of the back wrapper. These lists have an oblong format of $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ cm. The beginning of each new part coincides with the signatures, 2tes, 3tes, etc. All the songs are written in the violin clef.

Printed from type, rococo border on the title-page. According to Guttmann, p. 160, the dates of publication were: 1-6, 1791; 7-12, 1792. Nos. 1-10 and 12 are in the Royal Hausbibliothek in Berlin (M.6050), the fifth part only is in Dresden, part II was unknown until now (it contains three pieces from the *Entführung*). The edition is not in K.III.

The twelve parts contain the following compositions by Mozart:

- (a) From K.527 Don Giovanni: (Text in Italian and German.)
 - (Part I. Pp. 1-8.) "Sinfonia di Don Giovane" (!) (i.e. Overture).
 - (Part 6. Pp. 83-4.) "Aus Don Jouan" (Canzonetta No. 17).
 "Deh vieni alla finestra..."
 - 3. (Part 7. Pp. 1-4.) "Aus Don Jouan" (Aria from No. 25). "Non mi dir bell' idol mio. . ."
 - (Part 7. Pp. 4-6.) "Aus derselben Oper." (Aria No. 8).
 "Ah fuggi il traditor. . ."
 - 5. (Part 7. Pp. 6-8.) "Aus derselben Oper. Duetto." (Duet No. 15.) "Eh via buffone. . ."
- (b) From K.384 Die Entführung aus dem Serail. (Text German.)
 - (Part 4. Pp. 51-56.) "Aus Belmonte und Constanze" (Aria No. 17). "Ich baue ganz auf deine Stärke. . ."
 - Part II. Pp. 65-7I.) "Aus Belmont und Constanze. Duetto." (Duet from No. 20.) "Meinetwegen sollst du sterben..."
 - (Part II. Pp. 72-74.) "Romanze aus Belmont" (Romanze No. 18.) "Im Mohrenland gefangen war. . ."
 - (Part II. Pp. 75-80.) "Aus Belmont und Constanze" (Aria from No. 10). "Traurigkeit ward mir zum Loose. . ."
- (c) From K.492 Le Nozze di Figaro. (Text in Italian and German.)
 - (Part 5. Pp. 61-64.) "Aus Figaro's Hochzeit" (Aria No. 12). "Venite inginocchiatevi. . "
 - (Part 5. Pp. 65–67.) "Aus derselben Oper. Duetto" (Duet No. 16). "Crudel, perchè finora. . "
 - 3. (Part 5. Pp. 68-70.) "Aus derselben Oper." (Aria from No. 19.) "Dove sono i bei momenti. . ."

The twelve parts contain in addition separate numbers from the following operas:

Dittersdorf Die Liebe im Narrenhaus. (First performance 1787.) Dalayrac Die Wilden (Azémia ou les Sauvages). (First performance 1787.) Dalayrac Les deux petits Savoyards. (First performance, 1789.) Dalayrac Renaud d'Ast. (First performance, 1787.) Salieri Axur, rè d'Ormus. (First performance, 1788.) Wranitzky Oberon, König der Elfen. (First performance, 1790.)

These are all operas which were very popular at the time, but soon fell into oblivion.

On the reverse of each title-page is found a catalogue: Verlagsartikel der Rellstabschen Musikhandlung in Berlin which coincides only in part. The last leaf of the second volume contains Vollständiges Register sämmtlicher im Claviermagazin, Melodie und Harmonie, Olla potrida und neue Olla potrida enthaltenen Sachen. (These are, without exception, collected works which were published by Rellstab.) Further Register über die zwölf Stück der Allerneuesten Auswahl. Of the Mozart pieces the list remarks:

"Belmont und Constanze... 'Aus dieser Oper ist auf vieles Verlangen mehr gedruckt worden, und wird damit noch fortgefahren werden. Diese Arien kosten besonders 16 gr. Der (!) erste Heft eben so viel, und die Sinfonie 10 gr'."

(From this opera, by wide demand, more has been printed, and will also be continued. These arias cost 16 gr. separately. The first part the same, and the Symphony 10 gr.)

Aus Don Jouan. . . "Diese Arien nebst denejenigen und der Sinfonie welche bereits in der Neuesten Auswahl stehen, kosten zusammen 1 thl. 4 gr."

(These arias, together with those and the Symphony which are already in the Neuesten Auswahl, cost together I thl. 4 gr.)

Aus Figaro's Hochzeit. . . "Diese Arien nebst der Sinfonie und denenjenigen Arien, welche bereits in der Neuesten Auswahl gedruckt sind, kosten zusammen 1 thl. 16 gr."

(These arias, in addition to those arias and the Symphony which are already printed in the *Neuesten Auswahl*, cost together I thl. 16 gr.)

Rellstab published four Auswahl collections altogether:

- Auswahl von Gesängen, Publication-Opus XXIV, 12 pieces, 1787-8 (Contains no composition by Mozart; I have the first six pieces of this.) Guttmann. Op. cit., p. 150.
- Neue Auswahl von Gesängen, Opus XLII, ca. 1788-9. Cf. No. 4 of the present list. Guttmann, p. 153.

- 3. Neueste Auswahl von Gesängen, Opus LXIII, 12 pieces, 1790-91. Guttmann, p. 156. This collection includes one number from the Entführung, ten from Figaro and six from Don Juan. I have not got this edition, but there is a copy in the Royal Hausbibliothek (M. 6049).
- 4. Allerneueste Auswahl von Gesängen, Opus CVI, 12 pieces, 1791-2. Guttmann, p. 160. Cf. No. 5 of the present list.

As the copies in the Royal Hausbibliothek are not, at present, available to me for examination, it is not immediately possible to state which are the items printed in those parts of the collections which are not in my possession.

6. Collection complette des Variations de Mozart. Parts 1, 2, 4 and 5. 1792.

(Part I = Köchel 354 = 299a:) Collection complette des Variations de Mozart. / No. I. / Allegretto avec Variations. / pour le Clavecin ou Fortepiano / avec / Flute & Violon ad libitum. / par / W. A. Mozart. / (there follows Vignette.) Prix 8 Gr. 3 ½ Feuilles. Op. CXXIa, de l'Imp. /

A Berlin, / dans le Magazin & de l'Imprimerie de Musique de

Rellstab./

2 Parts obl. 4°. (Piano part:) 12 pp., Flauto e Violino I leaf (on the reverse a catalogue:) "Verlagsartikel . . .".

(Part 2 = Köchel 382:) Collection . . . / (as above) No. 2. / Rondo avec Variations / pour le Clavecin ou Fortepiano / avec / Flute & Violon ad libitum. / par / W. A. Mozart. / (Vignette as above.) On peut avoir ces Variations dans la clef de sol & celle d'Ut. / Prix 8 Gr. 2 Feuilles. Op. CXXI. b. de l'Imp. /

A Berlin, /... (as above) 2 Parts obl. 4°. (Piano part:) 4 S., Flauto, Violino 2 pp. (no pagination). The music is printed on the reverse of the title and the inside leaf which follows. At the end (the last page of the wrapper): "Verlagsartikel . . .".

(Part 4 = Köchel 353 = 300 f.:) Collection.../(as above) No. 4./
La belle Francaise (!) avec 12. Var. / pour le Clavecin ou Fortepiano / avec / Flute & Violon ad libitum. / par / W. A. Mozart./
(Vignette as above.) On peut avoir ces Variations dans la clef
de sol & celle d'Ut. / Prix 8 Gr. 3 Feuilles. Op. CXXI.d. de l'Imp./

A Berlin, / . . . (as above) 2 Parts obl. 4°. (Piano part:) 8 pp., Flauto. Violino 3 pp. (beginning on the reverse of the title, un-

paginated.)

(Part 5 = Köchel 613:) Collection . . . / (as above) No. 5. / Air varié de l'Opera der dumme Gärtner / (Ein Weib ist das herrlichste Ding) / pour le Clavecin ou Fortepiano/ avec / Flute & Violon ad libitum. / par / W. A. Mozart. / (Vignette as above) On peut avoir ces Variations dans la clef de sol & celle d'Uf (!) / Prix 8 Gr. $3\frac{1}{2}$ Feuilles. Op. CXXI.c. de l'Imp./

A Berlin, / . . . (as above). 2 Parts obl. 4°. (Piano part) 12 pp., Flauto e Violino 1 leaf (on the reverse:) "Verlagsartikel. . . ."

All four parts are printed from type and have similar rococo borders on the title-pages. The violin clef is used throughout.

This collection is not listed in K.III, and appears to have been entirely unrecorded until now. Guttmann (op. cit.) states, on p. 161, that Op. 121 is "missing". He gives, however, on p. 162, the title of the "Collection" according to the third Supplement of the "Lager-Verzeichniss" which appeared in July, 1792, and remarks: "7 numbers". In the catalogue of publications in my copy of part I, six parts are mentioned. The same applies to parts 2 and 5, but here with the addition that the collection will be continued. It is curious that parts I, 2, 5, and 4 should bear the description Op. CXXI a, b, c and d, in that order. This appears to indicate the order of their publication. The further parts 3, 6 and 7 duly appeared, according to the aforementioned Supplement, but, so far, they have failed to put in an appearance.

Musically the parts are constituted as follows:

Parts I, 4 and 5 are variations which have appeared for piano alone. Part I, K.354 = 299a: Breitkopf & Härtel's "Gesamtausgabe," Series 2I, No. 9: 12 Variations for Piano on "Je suis Lindor" Romance in Beaumarchais' "Barbier"; composer of the theme unknown.

Part 4. K. 353=300 f.: Gesamtausgabe, Series 21, No. 8: 12 Variations for piano on "La belle Françoise"; composer of the theme unknown.

Part 5. K.613: Gesamtausgabe, Series 21, No. 15: 8 Variations for piano on "Ein Weib ist das herrlichste Ding" from Schikaneder's farce "Der dumme Gärtner". Theme by B. Schack or F. Gerl. (Cf. K.III, pp. 774/75).

The editor allowed the piano variations to be printed unaltered, and made himself at home by adding *ad libitum* the violin and flute parts. These parts are extremely poor and could be omitted without any loss, for they are simply a duplication of the treble part. The introduction of these unnecessary parts was doubtless a sop to the taste of the time on the part of Rellstab.

Part 2. K.382, Concerto-Rondo for piano and orchestra:

Gesamtausgabe, Series 16, No. 28.

In this instance the elucidation is, in the nature of things, a little more complicated. Presumably the foundation of Rellstab's publication of this piece was the Artaria edition of 1786 or 1787 (K.III, p. 470), published as No. 9 of the Variations for Piano. Rellstab probably made use of this as a foundation and treated it on the same lines as the other parts of his collection. In any event various orchestra-tutti are lacking in the arrangement, and in place of the final Allegro in 3/8 time the "Thema" is repeated. The penultimate section which is described in the original as Adagio appears as "Var. VI," without a time-signature in the piano part; in the violin and flute parts it is marked Andante.

7. Köchel Anhang No. 284 f.: Wiegenlied. (Cradle-song.)

Wiegenlied / von Gotter / in Musik gesezt / von / Flies. /Hamburg/bei Johann August Böhme / Kunst=Musik und Instrumenten Handlung / der Börse gegen über./

2 Ll. (Title, pp. 2 & 3 Music, p. 4 blank.) 4°.

This edition is so far unrecorded. It agrees absolutely with the Böheim edition of the song which was discovered by Max Friedländer (described in K.III, p. 894), with the exception that the vocal part is written in the violin clef instead of in the treble. The present edition cannot have appeared before 1799 because, until that year, Böhme was associated with Günther, and the imprint was "Günther & Böhme".

The discovery of the present copy once more confirms the accuracy of Friedländer's conclusions in the Peters-Jahrbuch III, 1896, pp. 69–71, wherein he announced his discovery of the Böheim edition. It is hereby once more made plain that the composer of this popular song was Bernhard Flies, although the work is still widely referred to as a creation of Mozart's. Einstein, in K.III, p. 894 assembles once more all the reasons against this attribution, and also indicates that Joh. Ev. Engl., in the Mozarteums Bericht in 1915 was still pleading in the most naïve fashion for the genuineness of the attribution to Mozart.

Although the question of the composer's identity is now a res judicata, it is, nevertheless, interesting to ascertain that, subsequent to the Böheim edition (of which there is also an impression in my collection) yet another edition bearing the name of Flies was published.

(Translated by PERCY H. MUIR)

Artistic Direction

BY

W. J. TURNER

The need for leadership is at least as great in the arts as in any other human activity. In England we justly have valued our private individuality and have in the past succeeded in producing many great artists in all spheres of artistic activity. Even so it must be remembered that some arts depend more on social organisation than others. Drama and music are especially in this situation and it is inconceivable that we could have highly gifted dramatists writing fine plays unless certain necessary preliminary conditions were filled such as the existence of:

- (a) Theatres or playhouses and organised and trained companies of actors.
- (b) A theatre-going habit on the part of the public.

The case of music is similar. The composer, however naturally gifted, requires to have at his disposal a number of skilled and specially trained musicians and also concert halls where music can be performed under good acoustical conditions.

Now, this training of actors and musicians is an exacting and prolonged business. Everyone will say this is obvious but not everybody will appreciate fully the importance of the kind and degree of training required. At present the training obtainable in this country is wholly inadequate and has been so during the lifetime of all of us. For one thing there has never been any training except for commercial employment. The existing schools of drama and of music supply actors and musicians trained to meet a definite and quite circumscribed demand: the demands of the purely commercial theatre for actors; the demand, rapidly dwindling (in the face of mechanical competition), for musicians from cinemas, music halls, theatres, and a few orchestras which are all without permanent foundation—except for the more or less permanent orchestra of the B.B.C.

As regards the theatre one may generalise and say that the West End of London sets the standard for all the purely commercial theatres in the country and that apart from these there exists only

the "Old Vic" in London and a few isolated and poverty stricken, precariously existing repertory theatres scattered over the country. The commercial theatre, which represents about ninety per cent. of our total dramatic activity, has been standardised to make certain mass-produced dramatic articles to be presented to the public by mass-produced actors suitable for putting them across the footlights. It would not be an exaggeration to say that, in London, not only has the intelligentsia practically ceased to go to the commercial theatre but that the theatre plays no important part in the lives of the majority of the residents of London. West End theatres during the twenty years since the last war have been kept going by the very large drifting hotel population of visitors and strangers and do not in any way fulfil the true social function of dramatic art—that of reflecting the lives of the people and the new currents of thought and feeling moving among them.

Every dramatic critic, every potential writer of plays in London (and as I say, in theatrical matters the commercial theatres of the provinces follow London) knows that the managers and syndicates which control play-production in London have in mind only one sort of public. Even if it occurs to them that the seven million inhabitants of London cannot all think and feel alike they are not concerned with any but the majority as they simply, and quite understandably, want to make sure of filling their theatres to their

maximum capacity from the day they open a show.

I am not making these facts clear in order to attack honest business men. I only want to show that the direction of the art of the drama cannot possibly be left to mere commerce because the direction of commerce is necessarily and inevitably not towards art but towards business. It simply does not pay to consider the tastes or interests of minorities rather than those of majorities. But in art it is the minority not the majority who are important, for on their activity depends the attainment of a higher than average standard and also the possibility of adventuring after new This is why I, and all those who have at heart the art of drama, have advocated the establishment of nationally and municipally endowed theatres. These exist in nearly all the countries of Europe. Even in a small country like Jugo-Slavia the Croats have their National Theatre at Zagreb, and in England it is the old bankrupt policy of laissez-faire run mad to spend millions on educating boys and girls to the age of fifteen and then to provide nothing thereafter in the way of culture for the further development

of their minds and sensibilities; but to leave them to the untender and unenlightened exploitation of American film companies.

Music is in just as bad a way as drama. The many schools of music in this country provide musical education and training up to a point but (for the majority of these students) they have to stop at an elementary stage for various reasons:

- (a) There are no opera houses in England except at Sadler's Wells, and opera is the only practical post-elementary training school possible for singers and orchestral musicians.
- (b) There are so very few orchestral positions available—even for the pick of the instrumental students turned out at the best schools—that it is almost economic madness to become a musician.

It is absolutely disheartening for a young musician to find himself at the outset of his career without any possibility of:

- (a) Suitable occupation.
- (b) Opportunity and incitement to further development.

To be reduced to hack playing in those few cinemas which do not make use of "canned music" or to ekeing out a miserable subsistence by odd engagements is destructive both of ambition and talent. Yet every year we are thus destroying the bulk of the potential musical talent of our country through lack of any care on the part of the State to preserve and develop its natural human resources.

Take, for example, the case of the London Philharmonic Orchestra. This first-rate orchestra maintains a precarious existence and gives pleasure and inspiring recreation to many thousands of people largely owing to the talent, energy and public-spiritedness of Sir Thomas Beecham. Without him it would collapse for lack of financial backing. But it is an outrage that such a burden and responsibility should be left to lie upon one man's shoulders, especially when that man is himself an outstanding artist whose art necessarily makes sufficiently heavy demands upon his time and energy without his having to shoulder responsibilities that are strictly outside the province of the artist.

Finally, this brings me to the most important of sequels, namely, that young artists need leaders to inspire them with ideals and standards. The effect of a great musician upon his fellow musicians

is electrifying. There is in all of us—even highly gifted artists—a tendency to take things too easily. This takes the form of:

- (a) Our not making the greatest efforts of which we are capable through ignorance of the potentialities of our art, and
- (b) declining from those standards through apathy and the human tendency to take the line of least resistance.

Therefore great leaders, real masters of their profession whose only aim is to extend the boundaries of their art and to excel in excellence, are essential to the existence of a great artistic period. But if a society gives no support to its men of talent and to the arts, if the only use made of them is in the commercial field where the object is not art but money; then we are certain to see artistic standards lowered, to see good artists discouraged, mediocre artists deteriorate and the social life of the people impoverished to the point of unrest, dissatisfaction and general disillusionment. For where there is no art the people perish, however much material wealth they may possess.

Ernest Bloch's Violin Concerto

BY

GEOFFREY SHARP

T

The greatest violin concertos form single pinnacles in their respective composers' outputs. Those of Beethoven, Brahms, Sibelius and Elgar are isolated essays in the form; and neither the classical nor the rhapsodical pair are likely to be confronted with many challengers for artistic supremacy. We are not concerned here with the classical concerto, but with its rhapsodical progeny which has recently undergone a refinement of texture and a radical tautening of the logic of its purely musical procedure that cannot be overlooked. Such is the importance of the Bloch Concerto.

The work was completed at Chatel, Haute Savoie, in January, 1938, after seven or eight years of intermittent gestation, and, at the time of writing, has had three performances each with Joseph Szigeti as soloist.²

The Concerto has received what is generally known as a "good press," but the "good" is often misguided, particularly when served up without discrimination, and there is no need to read between the lines in order to detect certain flaws in many of the opinions which have been expressed. Resulting from a knowledge of Bloch's middle-period works—the Israel Symphony, Schelomo, the Three Jewish Poems, the Hebrew Quartet, etc.—some of the critics have remained obsessed with the Jewish aspect of the composer's music and have overlooked certain more important features of this, his latest, work. It would be uncharitable, perhaps, to identify our critical leaders with a certain continental organisation which

¹ July, 1939.

² First performance at Cleveland, Ohio, 15th December, 1938. Subsequent performances in London at a Philharmonic concert under Sir Thomas Beecham, 9th March, 1939; and in Paris under Charles Munch, 19th March, 1939.

For reference it may be stated that Messrs. Boosey & Hawkes, Ltd., have issued a clear and legible facsimile of the composer's manuscript (10s.), and the Columbia Graphophone Co., Ltd., have published an entirely satisfactory set of gramophone records of a performance by Szigeti and the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire conducted by Charles Munch.

condemns as Jewish anything it cannot understand—one hopes this absurd political taint has not and will not spread—but there seems to be no good reason for this avalanche of Hebrew-mania, hence the conjecture. It is true of course that Bloch has always shown in his music a remarkable degree of sympathy with human suffering, and in these days of racial persecution it is possible that fundamental issues have become confused, and that music showing certain basic affinities might tend to induce a too literally responsive frame of mind in the listener.

Another difficulty is more technical. According to the text-books fourths and fifths comprise unorthodox harmony to say the least; whence we may assume that the literal-minded musician is here confronted with the perils of the unknown, for the *Concerto* plunges at once into a sea of these apparently reprehensible intervals and indeed the fourth may even be regarded as providing the characteristic tang of the whole work. This does not mean that we must necessarily cast aspersions upon our old and trusted pedants in order to make Bloch's harmony intelligible—thirds and sixths are eminently suitable for the use of those who are not capable of handling anything more exciting; but the point is that a composer should not be excommunicated for refusing to "go by the book" until he has been given a chance to prove that the idiom he has chosen is the right one for his individual message.³

Ernest Newman has written that "the plain musical man . . . will find himself, perhaps, 'liking' the Concerto without quite knowing why". Judging by the reception given to the first London performance this has proved a true enough prophecy. It would be unduly optimistic to assume that an audience of some two thousand had come to a collective conclusion that Bloch's musical idiom was ideal for the expression of his particular personality; a few of our more imaginative musicians may have made this decision for themselves, but "the plain musical man" just happened to "like" the work.

There have been quite a number of Bloch's works which "the plain musical man" has not "liked"—neither Schelomo nor the

On the practical side we must bear in mind that such a method of teaching would be entirely beyond the imaginative ability of all but a very few music-teachers.

(See Scrutiny, Sept. 1939, pp. 184-192.)

^{*}Edmund Rubbra has recently outlined a method of teaching "harmony" calculated to encourage the expression of the pupil's own personality. He stresses the fact that the expression of a definite "character" in melody and harmony is more desirable than mere efficient and prosaic text-book procedure. The music of Bloch might well be instanced in support of this theory.

Sacred Service has made much headway in England despite the really genuine inspiration that is common to both—how then can we account for the sudden popularity of the Violin Concerto? Two superficial reasons may well be given before we examine the work in detail. First of all there is the fact that Bloch has here abandoned the predominantly Jewish flavour of his earlier scores, and by this means has found a wider audience. Secondly, the strife that should be present in all good concerto-writing is here in full measure; an audience always revels in a musical battle (sometimes too literally) and in this case there is a real thrill to be derived from watching the mere physical effort made by the soloist in overcoming the technical difficulties that bristle throughout the narrative. This does not mean that the work in un-violinistic.

II

To regard this *Concerto* as a narrative may easily provide the key to a better understanding of it. But let it be said at once that a musical narrative need not have any literal programmatic basis—this is a fact that must be grasped before we can indulge in any profitable discussion, for Bloch here ruminates upon nothing more tangible than the eternal problem of human destiny and in his last movement presents us with the inevitable withdrawal which, however, is only partially enigmatic.⁴

The opening of the work is clear and straightforward, with a possible reservation at the mezzo-forte.



The subsequent excursion into the depths of the orchestra provides a suitable atmosphere for the rhapsodical entry of the solo violin *misterioso* with material of which the essential character is summarised in Ex. 2.



⁴ Without wishing to suggest any definite parallel, the writer would like to mention the strong similarity in emotional tone and dramatic trend between the Bloch Concerto and Eugene O'Neill's play Mourning becomes Electra. A coincidence no doubt, but an extraordinarily close resemblance is to be found in the (for want of a better word) philosophical texture of the two works.

The soloist now indulges in an exacting but relevant miniature cadenza after which an *ostinato* figure, *Moderato assai*, is presented by the lower strings, harp and timpani; this is an important feature of the whole work:



and should be clearly noted beneath the two following episodes which are projected over it in rapid succession:



the first (a) on flutes and trumpets, the second (b) on the violins followed by wood-wind in imitation. Ex. 4 (a) continues, but the ostinato is modified on the re-entry of the solo instrument with references to Ex. 1. Between these is heard:



whereupon the tempo quickens to allegro, and then broadens for a tutti on Ex. I leading to:



on the solo instrument. An interjection from the orchestra shows a rhythmical affinity with the first half-bar of Ex. 5. Once more the music quietens, *meno mosso*, for a polyphonic episode of which the principal strands are:



respectively on the solo violin and on a solo viola and bassoon, while a third strand is given to another solo viola and a clarinet. This leads to a very free recapitulation. The solo violin re-enters with Ex. 2 in extended form, and a tutti follows with the ostinato, Ex. 3, in the new key, and 4 (b) on the wood-wind. At the next

entry of the solo violin Ex. 4 (a) is heard again on the trumpets. Soon Ex. I reasserts itself, followed by Ex. 6. Bravura passages on the solo violin herald the approach of the climax (full-score, page 52)—an astonishing and utterly convincing testimony to the persistent bitterness and unflagging intensity of modern life. Examples 4 (a) and (b) in reversed order are combined with Ex. 3 and the first phrase of Ex. I to form a tutti which eventually leads to the cadenza proper. The introductory material is similar to that used to prepare the ground for the earlier example and should be carefully noted. It is also important to realise that this cadenza is as much an intrinsic part of the design as any of the rest of the work and by no means the excrescence that some critics automatically dub all members of the breed! In the epilogue a new, but derivative, melodic trend appears on the solo violin and oboe before the tempo quickens once more for a coda based upon extracts from the foregoing material. There is an abrupt final chord quite in keeping with the general character of the movement.

The slow movement opens semplice ed incoloro with:



on wood-wind and harp, followed immediately by:



on the oboe, the counter-melody being played by the leader of the orchestra. Presently the soloist enters "off the key" with:



to provide one of the most magical moments of the whole work. Ex. 9 follows in the course of three pages of music (full-score, pp. 74-77), which makes the Brittens, Rawsthornes and Berkeleys of the contemporary scene look like a gaggle of pretentious antitheses of Lord Goring. A fourth motive:



intervenes before the resumption of Ex. 9, now with a suggestion of Ex. 10 in the bass. Ex. 5 makes a reappearance from the first movement, and after further references to Exs. 11 and 10, Ex. 8 is resumed on the solo violin. Towards the end the ostinato, Ex. 3, returns, and the movement concludes with a fragment of Ex. 8 on the flute, followed by the solo violin with a faint suggestion of the rhythm of Ex. 2.

The finale opens deciso with:



in the orchestra, whereupon the solo violin rhapsodizes with material derived from Ex. 1 and 4 (b). This figure:



also acquires prominence. Then the tempo quickens to allegro moderato and the soloist makes a vigorous entry with:



The next subject, also on the solo instrument, is:



with a slackening of the tempo it reappears as a horn solo leading to a resumption of Exs. I and 2 on the violin. Other characters in the drama make further appearances, and before long the initial phrase of Ex. 12 begins to assert itself in conjunction with other material. Ex. 14 insinuates itself into the reckoning on the solo instrument da lontano, and Ex. 15 appears on strings and horns.

Now Exs. 1 and 12 combine to form a tutti leading to the coda, and here Exs. 14 and 12 are followed by a final reference to Ex. 1 on the solo violin, and this movement too ends with an abrupt chord.⁵

III

It would be absurd to pretend that any analysis or musical dissection could possibly illustrate the full complexity of the work. But the above may be useful in enabling readers to see "the wood for the trees", and in giving an idea, however imperfect, of the subtlety with which Bloch uses his material. As has been shown, Ex. 2 is common to all three movements; Exs. 3 and 5 are to be found in the first and second movements, and Exs. 1 and 4 (b) occur in the first movement and in the finale. This may be accepted as providing some purely musical justification for regarding the whole work as a continuous narrative, none the less definite in spite of its three phases of defiance, resignation and withdrawal. The problem of this withdrawal, which is liable to loom so large at a first hearing, is partially solved by the presence of already familiar musical fragments; and our enigma is thus circumscribed by a safeguard comparable to the Malvern Hills.

The works of Bloch are far removed in stature from the petty drivellings of so many of our much-vaunted, catch-penny atonalists who fancy themselves as pioneers of musical expression. In so far as a confusion of values is a sign of the times in which we live, they may well call themselves pioneers. Bloch, however, stands firm in the small and select company of artists who value integrity more highly than fashion, and a study of his latest work lends conviction to the opinion that the greatest violin concertos form single pinnacles in their respective composers' outputs.

⁸ For much of the material of the above analysis the writer is indebted to E.E.'s note in the Royal Philharmonic Society's programme for 9th March, 1939.

Reviews of Music

These are held over until May

MUSIC RECEIVED

- Benjamin, Arthur. Sonatina for Violoncello and Piano. (Hawkes & Son.) 3s. 6d.
- Bloch, Ernest. Macbeth (Vocal score). (Éditions Musicales Polyphon, Paris.)
- Copland, Aaron. El Salón México (Orchestral full-score). (Hawkes & Son.) 15s.
- Finzi, Gerald. Dies Natalis, Cantata for Soprano (or Tenor) Solo and String Orchestra (Piano score). (Winthrop Rogers Edition.) 4s.
- Ireland, John. Concertino Pastorale for String Orchestra (Full-score). (Hawkes & Son.) 7s. 6d.
- Kodály, Zoltán. Hymn to King Stephen (S.A.T.B.) (Winthrop Rogers Edition.) 5d.
- Martinů, Bohuslav. *Tre Ricercari* (Orchestral full-score). (Universal Edition.) Reizenstein, Franz. *Prologue, Variations and Finale* for Violin and Piano. (Hawkes & Son.) 7s. 6d.
- Smyth, Ethel. Organ Prelude. (Boosey & Co.) 28.
- Webern, Anton. String Quartet, Op. 28 (Miniature score). (Hawkes & Son.) 2s. 6d.

BOOKS RECEIVED

A Gateway to the Symphony. By Winifred E. Houghton. Pp. 61. (Obtainable from Augener, Ltd.) 5s.

[Mention in these lists neither implies nor precludes subsequent review.]

Book Review

A List of Books about Music. By Percy Scholes. Pp. 64. (Milford: Oxford University Press.) 1939. 3s. 6d.

This is a tantalizing book. It might have been so good, but unfortunately betrays only too clearly the haste in which it was compiled. Quite apart from the deliberate limitation to books in the English language, there are too many omissions which could not be justified under the compiler's plea that "what are thought to be the less valuable works on any subject have been deliberately excluded". In any event a true bibliography should be complete, and the compiler should restrict himself in the matter of comment to short notes as to reliability or otherwise. Wholesale omissions savour too much of dictatorship!

Some of the more striking examples may well be mentioned. From the Beethoven literature the biographical works of Riezler, Rolland and Turner are absent; also Shedlock's two volumes of the letters. The centenary contributions to *Music and Letters* are stated to have been published in April, 1927, which is the truth but not the whole truth—they were in fact concluded

in the July issue.

Other absentees are Julius Harrison's recent book on the Brahms symphonics, Gerald Abraham's on Chopin, Walford Davies' Pursuit of Music, Cecil Gray's History of Music, W. J. Turner's Mozart, and Kolb's Mozart. There are no entries under psychology, a subject which has particular applications to music and on which there is no lack of literature.

The English translation of Bruno Walter's book on Mahler is listed, but not as a translation; neither is it stated to be unsatisfactory. R. O. Morris' book, The Structure of Music, is wrongly entered under the heading Composition upon which it cannot truthfully be said to be a treatise; and under the entry Morris, R. O., the cross-reference to Orchestra should be replaced by one to Form. Donald Tovey's Main Stream of Music is not listed under History.

These suggested corrections cannot be exhaustive, but it would be a mistake to regard the book as valueless. It requires considerable revision and en-

largement before another edition is published.

In his preface Dr. Scholes asks two questions which it may be as well to answer. First, "whether at this date the world is really in need of more books on Wagner?" The answer surely is "Yes, if any new light can be shed". To ask "Why do architects ever build acoustically imperfect concerthalls" would seem delightfully naive to any expert, who would be tempted to reply that acoustics is not yet by any means an exact science.

G. N. S.

Gramophone Records

No attempt will be made in these pages to review all the available standard or classical issues as they appear. Space would not permit this even if it were thought desirable. The only passports recognised will be the exceptional interest of the music itself, the fine quality of the performance and the efficiency of the recording process, or any combination of these qualities.

It should not necessarily be assumed that all the records noticed in any one issue have inevitably been released during the preceding quarter, though

this will probably be true of the majority.

In so far as any reviewer may make such a claim, the comments will be fair and unbiased, and the reader may be tolerably certain that any records of music that interests him which are given space in The Review will amply repay any time he cares to spend in listening to them.

Beethoven: Variations in E flat major. Op. 35.

Lili Kraus.

Parlophone R 20470-72. 18s.

In any concert where the Eroica Symphony is played these Variations should if possible precede it. But the direct comparison is left almost

invariably to the gramophile.

Schnabel has just recently recorded this work for the Beethoven Sonata Society (Vol. XV). The reviewer has been unable to hear his version, but readers who wish to compare reports are referred to Alec Robertson's notices in *The Gramophone* (August, 1939; January, 1940). It is probable that Lili Kraus would realise Beethoven's aufgeknopft moods more completely than Schnabel, at the same time remaining less ponderously echt-Teutsch (!)—in other words the interpretations are most likely entirely different.

Lili Kraus' performance defies description. The records provide nearly half-an-hour of pure delight. The piano tone comes through beautifully,

being full-bodied and crystal-clear.

Beethoven: Symphony No. 4 in B flat major. Op. 60.

The B.B.C. Symphony Orchestra conducted by Arturo Toscanini.

His Master's Voice DB 3896-99. 24s.

Now that the Telefunken pressings of this work have become difficult or impossible to obtain, there is only the Columbia (Weingartner) issue modern enough to bear comparison with this new set. The Fourth Symphony fares unhappily on records—the Columbia creates an impression of drab efficiency without sparkle, the Telefunken suffered from several defects of recording and the records under review have their deficiencies.

It must always be difficult to record by the present system a straight-through performance of any music that lasts longer than four minutes or so. There seems to be no good reason why these records should not have been made in four-minute sections, thus conforming with the bulk of modern practice: but in fact the conductor has made no breaks within the movements themselves, hence we have more than usually irritating "divisions" through-out—and one, at the end of side seven, which is a positive nightmare. In other respects Toscanini has received better recording here than in his American issues, but by no means as fine as in his sets of the Beethoven First and Sixth Symphonies. The detail is not always clear, and only in the third movement, where the rhythm of the wood-wind is by no means impeccable, can the fault be traced to the playing. The review pressings have also proved harsh and heavy in the lower register, producing an unnatural, almost guttural effect and giving some difficulty with fibres.

The performance has obviously been a good one; but the basic criticism—that the gramophone is here allowed to intervene far too perceptibly between the music and the listener—is serious.

G. N. S.

Beethoven: Symphony No. 8 in F major. Op. 93.

Concertgebouw Orchestra, Amsterdam conducted by Prof. Dr. Willem Mengelberg.

Telefunken SK 2760-2. 18s.

This set is doubly welcome as there is only one other good recording of the symphony—H.M.V. B.B.C. Orchestra, conductor: Sir Adrian Boult—and few of Mengelberg's records have appeared on the English lists.

Much controversy has arisen concerning Mengelberg's readings of classical music, and he has been censured for alterations of expression and tempi. To those who have knowledge of his conducting and do not admire it, this set of records will make little or no appeal; for they are essentially products of his original style; by others, however, they should be much appreciated for the new light they shed on the Eighth Symphony.

The first movement is taken more slowly than usual, this is especially noticeable with the introduction of the second subject which is treated in such a style as to stress its gracefulness, a welcome change from the scramble that so often spoils it. This does not mean that the movement is without the essential fire and vigour; indeed the whole performance is noteworthy for its buoyancy.

This version as a whole is on a smaller scale than the H.M.V. recording, a treatment which together with Mengelberg's interpretation, is especially suited to the *Allegretto*. In the third movement the superb poise of the trio, accentuated by the horns—an outstanding feature of the Concertgebouw Orchestra—alone makes the set worth buying.

The finale, which is taken moderately fast (the H.M.V. recording is practically presto), is as fine as the rest of the performance, the wood-wind playing especially being outstanding.

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The recording is not up to the highest Telefunken standard, the timpani are inclined to blast at the end of side 4, and there is a slight muffling effect on one or two of the climaxes. Otherwise the details are clear and the tone is what we have come to expect from German recordings: quieter but more natural than the American type. Ample volume is obtainable with thorn needles.

M. H.

Berlioz: Symphonie Fantastique. Op. 14.

Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire conducted by Bruno Walter.

His Master's Voice DB 3852-57. 36s.

This is the ideal set for those who believe that Berlioz invariably wrote music full of sound and fury whether they know what it signifies or not. Berlioz was no idiot and the *idée fixe* is no lunatic obsession: Walter realises this and treats the famous *leitmotiv* as merely another poltergeist among many. Here are all the seeds for a really illuminating performance and we are not disappointed. The most finely wrought pages of Walter's very personal re-creation are those at the beginning of the work and the whole of the *Marche au Supplice* where the cymbal strokes produce a clean, dry and explosive sound like the shattering of plate glass. This is merely an incident, if perhaps the most arresting, in a highly imaginative and very moving essay in tone-painting.

The first few pages apart, Walter does not quite obtain the sustained drive on the opening movement that Monteux brought out so strongly in his much earlier version. In the second movement Walter gives full prominence to the harps which were necessarily rather weak in the earlier records, but he also hurries the last few bars and some may feel that he thus loses more on the swings than he gains on the harps. The Scène au Champs is a great improvement on anything we have previously been given on records, much more delicate and possessing greater wealth of detail. There seems to have been some slight mistiming during the first half of side eight, but this is not serious; and the timpani storm clouds are not much larger than a man's hand-not that we can discover any particular reason why they should be apart from the violation of popular tradition. Points to notice in the finale are the unusually deep and muffled gong tone, giving a very sombre effect, and the slight speeding up of the last bars by which Walter obtains just that extra animation that Berlioz so obviously requires. The descending scale passages about an inch into the last side are not quite precise.

The recording is on the small side throughout, but ample climaxes can be obtained on a large gramophone. The general effect is clean and workmanlike, and best of all, thoroughly Berliozian. The only snags are an awkward run-out groove on the first side after the two sf chords (which are repeated on side two), and an intermittent "hammering" noise which occasionally obtrudes itself through the pastoral scene in the early stages of the slow movement.

Berlioz: March Troyenne.

See Wagner: Overture-Rienzi.

Bruckner: Symphony No. 7 in E major.

The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Eugen Jochum. Telefunken SK 3000-7. 48s.

The reviewer had the good fortune to hear an unforgettable performance of this work in Queen's Hall by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Dr. Furtwängler nearly three years ago. Making allowances for the dimming effect of time, this Vienna rendering seems just as vitally imaginative and furtively sardonic.

It is a squeamish and mushy effect of a mistaken piety that has lead to the traditional description of Bruckner—half god, half simpleton. In point of fact he possessed a mordant tongue, and there are other sides of his character than those which have been stupidly over-emphasized by countless repetitions of alleged funny stories showing up the composer in an irrelevant light; irrelevant, that is, to the formation of a true estimate of Bruckner as a musician.

The opening theme of the work must surely appeal to any unbiased listener possessed of a musical imagination that is not rusty; it is a long-breathed—as against long-winded—paragraph consisting of a truly Brucknerian synthesis of Schubert and Wagner. Jochum obviously feels the tremendous mystic significance of this first statement and procures a truly astonishing effect even through the record. Throughout the work the orchestra is magnificently controlled, and both performers and recording engineers have combined to provide lifelike string-tone and real pianissimos. The recording of the very loudest passages is not so successful, for there is a slight tendency to "blast" at some points (e.g. half-way through side one); this, however, can be forgiven in view of the remarkable dynamic range achieved and of the difficulty of recording a Bruckner climax.

The movements occupy five, six, two and three sides respectively; and the whole work is easily negotiable with Davey thorn needles and a wellbalanced crystal pick-up.

The only other accessible recording, an American version issued by His Master's Voice, is in no way comparable, being harsh and woolly, and unsatisfactory with fibre needles. There is also a German Polydor issue recorded by the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under Carl Schuricht.

Chopin: Scherzo in C sharp minor. Op. 39, No. 3.

· Claudio Arrau.

Parlophone R 20469. 6s.

This is one of the finest pianoforte records yet issued. It should please Chopin enthusiasts and others as well, for Arrau manages to combine a full expression of Chopin's intensely personal nostalgia with an unusual and very refreshing dramatic approach that enriches the music in a wholly satisfying way. The comparison with Rubinstein's record, made several years ago, is interesting.

Haydn: Symphony No. 104 in D major. (The London.)

The London Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham.
Columbia LX 856-8. 18s.

The introduction is beautifully played—this is the most truly Haydnesque part of Beecham's performance which, alternating for the most part between REVIEWS

the ultra-slick and the ultra-suave, seems to concentrate upon orchestral polish to the extent of missing the full implication of some of Haydn's more pungent ramifications. Note particularly in this respect the treatment given to the essentially emphatic passage towards the end of side three (slow movement): this could well be more boisterous. The lyrical continuity of the trio is wonderfully contrived, but for the reviewer there is not enough contrast between this idyll and the more energetic material on either flank. The finale goes well, but dramatic effect, of which there should be plenty, is rather sacrificed in the interests of relentless continuity.

However, although it may be possible to imagine a more full-bodied and deliberate treatment, these records will lead no one astray and are probably the best available.

Mozart: Symphony No. 35 in D major. (The Haffner.)

The London Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham.

Beecham's performance differs very little from the Toscanini (His Master's Voice D 1782-84) that used to be the standard recorded version. As regards recording, however, there is no comparison. This new Columbia issue has the silky texture that we have come to expect of the best modern English recordings, and the violas and timpani especially fare very much better than of old.

The only marked individualities in the reading occur in the third movement where Sir Thomas obtains a repeated *appoggiatura* effect in the trio and then holds the final chord of the minuet just perceptibly.

The London Philharmonic Orchestra are at the top of their form, and these records are strongly recommended. Only those who remain indifferent to the various qualities of recording will rest content with the old New York version.

Schubert: String Quartet in B flat major. Op. 168.

The Busch Quartet.

His Master's Voice DB 3737-39. 18s.

These records made their appearance at a peculiar time, a fortnight before Christmas, along with a new issue of the Schubert G major Quartet, Op. 161 (Busch), a complete version of act two of Die Walküre, Haydn's Concerto for harpsichord, Op. 21 (Landowska) and Liszt's St. Francis Walking on the Water (Cortot). Here is a very welcome supplement to the rather meagre December list, and the gramophone public would assuredly be very grateful, if they knew anything about this late release.

The withdrawn National Gramophonic Society version seems to have been the only other attempt on the part of recording engineers to come to terms with this delightful work. Its late opus number is misleading, for this is early Schubert and only the slow movement has the imprint of genuine maturity: here, towards the end, dark harmonies and two gruff interruptions foreshadow a development that was to culminate in the magnificent slow movement of the C major Quintet, Op. 163. The first movement introduces a violin figure which later fascinated Spohr in his Eighth Violin Concerto, and sets the stage effectively for later ruminations. The minuet takes us to an Austrian beer-garden where the contrasting trio prevents our senses from becoming fuddled and the finale opens with a passage that is reminiscent of Haydn, but has no great depth: the listener may notice a figurative anticipation of the Scherzo of the Great C major Symphony. An unequal work, with two fine movements and two pleasant ones.

The Busch Quartet give a vital and strongly rhythmic performance. The recording is good apart from a slightly shrill effect in the upper register of

the violins.

Sibelius Society, Volume Six.

Contents:

En Saga. Op. 9. Tone-poem for orchestra.

Valse Triste. Op. 44 from incidental music to Kuolema.

A Spring in the Park, Entr'acte and The Death of Mélisande. Op. 46 from incidental music to Pelléas et Mélisande.

In Memoriam. Op. 59. Funeral March for orchestra.

The Bard. Op. 64. Tone-poem for orchestra.

Prelude. Op. 109a from incidental music to The Tempest.

The London Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham. 42s.

This is a mixed bag, musically speaking, for *The Tempest Prelude*, *Valse Triste* and two of the numbers from *Pelléas et Mélisande* were hardly worth recording: particularly when we remember such works as *The Origin of Fire*, *Luonnotar* and the bulk of the *Lemminkainen Suite* and then look for them in vain in the Society's six volumes. There is no need yet to resort to thirdrate Sibelius, interesting though some of it is.

The outstanding items in this collection are *The Bard* and *The Death of Mélisande*, and to a lesser extent *In Memoriam* and *En Saga* which is given one of the finest performances it can ever have had, in its complete form too. *In Memoriam* is an impressive and mostly restrained funeral march which encourages an immediate comparison with Berlioz's *Funeral March for the Last Scene of Hamlet* from which it has nothing to fear: not that the Berlioz is inferior.

The Death of Mélisande might as well have represented a sunset over a Finnish lake, but is a really first-rate piece of music nevertheless. A second performance was given to a very appreciative audience at the Sibelius Festival in the autumn of 1938, at about which time I imagine these records to have been made.

The Bard is a complementary work to the Fourth Symphony in much the same way as Tapiola is to the Seventh, its austere power of fascination is felt more strongly at each hearing while it seems to become progressively less wayward and more sustaining.

The orchestral playing is superlatively good throughout the volume, and the recording is of the same very high standard as in Volume V.

Wagner: Overture-Rienzi.

Berlioz: Marche Troyenne.

Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire conducted by Felix Weingartner.

Columbia LX 860-61. 12s.

These records are a fine achievement, full of verve and gusto, and with an élan that is really astonishing. Every effect is bright and clean, and the only possible adverse criticism concerns the lack of balance between treble and bass; with a gramophone that will compensate well this does not amount to very much, but the vast majority of mass-produced machines are not particularly flexible—and we must have some more bass somehow.

W. R. Anderson complains in *The Gramophone* (December, 1939) that steel needles are necessary: they are not. The writer's instrument behaves perfectly with thorns.

G. N. S.

London Concerts

The Courtauld-Sargent concert conducted by Sir Adrian Boult on 21st October marked the first appearance of the London Philharmonic Orchestra in the West End since the recent crisis in its affairs. Although the date had been changed, Sir Adrian did not alter the programme which was originally to have been given by Bruno Walter. The performance of Corelli's Christmas Concerto in G minor could only be described as pedestrian, but the Haydn Symphony (No. 86 in D) very nearly reached the Philharmonic's usual standard. After the interval Sir Adrian gave a particularly clear rendering of the Brahms Second Symphony, and brought out much of the inner wood-wind detail that is so often lost. The effect was only marred by the vicious blaring tone of the heavy brass which was allowed to swamp the proceedings at several points and, most seriously, in the final coda. For this concert the Orchestra was very much reduced in size—there were only twelve first violins, nine seconds, eight violas and six 'cellos and bassesand though this was not a serious handicap in the Corelli or the Haydn, the Brahms was bound to suffer to some extent, and under the circumstances the performance was really remarkable.

The Royal Philharmonic Society gave two concerts in Queen's Hall before Christmas, on 16th and 23rd November, which they hope to follow with four in the new year. Both were conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham and played by the London Philharmonic Orchestra—now back to normal strength. The first concert was notable for magnificent performances of Elgar's Cochaigne Overture and the Haydn Symphony No. 102 in B flat, Le Rouet d'Omphale made a brilliant flash-in-the-pan, but the work unfortunately continues so long after the flash that one becomes more and more conscious of its very poor quality. The concert ended with an energetic, and at times brilliant, version of the Evoica Symphony, but the all-consuming onward drive of the work was not consistently sustained and the impression that remained was one of scintillating fragments rather than of an organic whole.

The following week we were given very full measure. First of all, an almost perfect Mozart Linz Symphony, followed by Delius' Eventyr which was good but would have done with another rehearsal, and Chabrier's Espana—a most convincing and refreshing (?) display of controlled vulgarity. Sibelius' Sixth Symphony restored a more sober tone to the proceedings, but seemed disjointed and did not altogether convince. A fragment from Debussy's L'Enfant Prodigue preceded a finely controlled, high-spirited and exhilarating performance of Tchaikovsky's Francesca da Rimini.

As a result of these two concerts it is safe to say that the London Philharmonic Orchestra has regained its pre-war standard. It is particularly unfortunate that it should now be deprived of its leader, David McCallum, who has done a great deal during the past three years to bring it to its present high position among the orchestras of Europe. Thomas Matthews has been appointed as his successor.

G. N. S.

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Dr. Malcolm Sargent made his first appearance in London after his recent Australian tour at a lunch time concert on Wednesday, 6th December, at the Central Hall, Westminster, when he directed the London Philharmonic Orchestra.

The programme opened with a lively performance of Sir Hamilton Harty's arrangement of the Water Music. Mention must be made of the horn playing, which was not only very accurate in the first movement of this suite but very well balanced. Dr. Sargent took the bourrée at a pace to which we are not accustomed, but the skill with which this was accomplished by the orchestra more than justified the conductor's fast tempo and its most striking change. The Elgar Sevenade for string orchestra which followed suffered in the opening bars from a certain unsteadiness in the quavers which form an important part of the accompaniment in the second violins and violas.

The concert ended with a very direct reading of Franck's Symphony in D minor. Never during this performance were the unceasing chromatic progressions allowed to become sentimentalised as we have so often heard before. Dr. Sargent gives the cornet parts throughout this symphony to the trumpets, and this together with alternate down bow and legato phrases on the strings greatly enhanced a commonplace second subject in the last movement.

J. H.

The third Courtauld-Sargent concert was given on 9th December by the London Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Dr. Malcolm Sargent. performance of the Brahms Double Concerto, with Antonio Brosa and Gaspar Cassado as soloists, was an outstanding musical event. This Double Concerto is a very great work—a fact that has gradually come to be recognised—but it is a rare and enlightening experience to be reassured in so convincing a fashion as was our good fortune on this occasion. Two factors contributed in the main to what was a genuine re-creation of a true work of genius—the precision of the ensemble and Cassado's almost uncannily consistent feeling for the basic Innigheit of Brahms. The English word "subtlety" will not do here as it would imply cleverness and this was too perfect to be clever. (A re-recording of this work is long overdue.) There followed the first performance in England of Honegger's Nocturne—an extravagant work from the practical point of view, calling for triple wood-wind, saxophone, tuba, harp and percussion in addition to strings, horns and trumpets. Its interest lies in its novelty and some peculiar orchestral effects. After the interval Dr. Sargent gave a dynamic reading of Dvorak's sadly neglected Second Symphony which contains some of its composer's finest pages as well as some of his most awkward! It was unfortunate that a break should have occurred in the oboe's lyrical peroration at the end of the slow movement, and the tone of the clarinets was not all that it should have been in the finale; otherwise there was much to admire. G. N. S.

Hallé Concerts Society

SEASON 1939-40.

The Hallé Concerts Society have shown a degree of Lancashire stubbornness in continuing their full series of twenty weekly concerts; against such odds as a depleted orchestra and no concert hall, as well as the

too familiar difficulties of black-outs and petrol-rationing.

The concerts have been held in the Paramount Theatre at 2.30 on Sundays, a time which has proved popular, the house being full on a number of occasions. The acoustics of the modern cinema can hardly be termed ideal for orchestral concerts, though the conditions have been improved since the opening concert. The tone is still slightly muffled, but the balance is fairly well restored; however, the main difficulty seems to be the procuring of a real fortissimo.

The orchestra are not up to their last season's standard: the reason being, perhaps, that they have had the added difficulty of playing under four different conductors. Sir Thomas Beecham has taken four concerts, Dr. Sargent three, Sir Henry Wood two, and Basil Cameron one. The latter was deputising for Sir Henry Wood and apart from one item, took over Sir Henry's programme. Under the circumstances he gave fine performances of Rachmaninoff's Concerto in C minor and Beethoven's Fourth Symphony.

The two outstanding departures from tradition were the lack of internationally famed soloists, and the absence of the Hallé Choral Society, who

only appeared in the annual Messiah.

If the programmes were somewhat stereotyped, modern composers were not forgotten. There were first performances in Manchester of Ireland's London Overture. Walton's Facade Suite No. 2, Honegger's Prelude The Tempest, Prokofiev's Classical Symphony and—most outstanding of all—Bloch's Violin Concerto in which the solo part was played by Antonio Brosa: his performance was vivid and full of delicate phrasing, though the tempi were rather too slow and the work consequently tended to drag in parts. This was more the fault of the orchestra which, though giving a technically correct performance, did not seem to have captured the spirit of the work.

One of the finest performances of the series was that of Elgar's Enigma Variations, conducted by Dr. Sargent: the orchestral playing being of the high standard of which the Hallé are capable in works of this calibre. Dr. Sargent obtained some real pianissimo playing in Nimrod with imaginative tone from the strings. The contrasts essential to the work were all the more apparent, as a general criticism of the orchestral playing throughout

the series is that it has been too uniform.

Sir Thomas Beecham's conducting of Brahms' D major Symphony must also be mentioned as well as Delius' *Over the Hills and Far Away*. In both, the orchestra and conductor gave of their best.

A complete Sibelius concert, comprising En Saga, the Violin Concerto and the Symphony in D major was given on 19th November, with Beecham as conductor and Henry Holst as soloist. The reviewer was not present,

REVIEWS

but the concert was apparently well received—Mr. Holst's playing being much admired.

It must be noted in closing that the works of Mozart were more prominent in the programmes than in former years. This was a welcome change though the Hallé Orchestra are not ideally suited to this composer. A young Manchester pianist, John Davies, played the solo part in the C minor Piano Concerto with an ability that promises great things.

In the second half of the season which begins on 14th January Dr. Sargent is to assume his permanent conductorship and is to direct eight of the ten concerts; two being taken by Sir Henry Wood, one of which is to be a Beethoven concert.

The works of English composers are numerous, including Walton's Viola Concerto in which Lionel Tertis will be the soloist and *Music for Strings* by Bliss.

It is hoped that under the leadership of Laurance Turner (who has succeeded Alfred Barker) and a permanent conductor the Hallé Orchestra will regain their former excellence.

M. H.

Broadcasting

The B.B.C. are evidently far more ready to talk about first-class orchestral playing than to broadcast it. Literally dozens of inferior performances since the outbreak of war have to be set against a mere handful of good ones and perhaps two of the finest and most integrally artistic calibre. Manifestly it will not do for the Corporation's minions to describe the B.B.C. Symphony Orchestra as the finest in the world (!)—at the same time pointedly excluding details of German broadcasts from the foreign columns in The Radio Times. (If full particulars are unobtainable a bare summary would be better than nothing.) The petty narrowness of such an exclusion is deplorable, but probably not intrinsically serious as most of the "interested" section of the public now know from long practice how to find the German stations and when to listen to them.

It seems reasonable to assume that German programmes are excluded for one of two reasons (or perhaps both): either that patriotic Britons are not expected to associate themselves with enemy (!) music-and considerable support was given to this theory in the early stages of the war when we were subjected to countless nebulous selections from inferior French musical hotch-potches-or that the Corporation do not wish to encourage comparisons between the B.B.C. Orchestra and the finer bodies abroad. (An admirable and enlightening example of a high artistic standard being maintained was the performance of the Beethoven First Symphony by the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra under Dr. Furtwängler at 8.30 p.m. on 8th January, relayed from Deutschlandsender.)

Two home broadcasts-of the Sibelius First Symphony under Clarence Raybould, and of Schubert's Great C major under Sir Adrian Boult-stand out in the writer's memory as landmarks of true quality: two oases in a musical desert that has been otherwise as dry, decadent and unpromising as anything the last few months of bureaucratic bungling have inflicted upon a long-suffering humanity.

There is no object in listing a catalogue of unsatisfactory relays: the post-morten would be revolting, and in any case the "powers that be" invariably ignore adverse criticism or repudiate it.

The outside broadcast on 17th December (noticed below) provided a welcome breath of fresh air on the home service whose erstwhile complacent smile now seems likely to develop into a fixed and patronising leer.

A tirade of this kind would not be worth while except in a "sacred" cause. Even, or perhaps especially, in war-time music must go on, and it must be first-class. When it falls from that standard the B.B.C. as the principal purveyor of musical culture (!) must inevitably provide the principal "Aunt Sally".

On 17th December the B.B.C. violated their hitherto consistent policy of neglecting the Beecham Sunday Concerts. Even now we were permitted to hear only half the programme, but as long as we are restricted to one home REVIEWS

transmission we must not complain of short rations. The programme consisted of the Overture to *The Barber of Seville, The Walk to the Paradise Garden* from *A Village Romeo and Juliet,* Weinberger's Variations and Fugue on *Under the Spreading Chestnut Tree* (!) and Mozart's Fourth Violin Concerto in D major (K. 218) with Thomas Matthews as soloist.

Judging from the radio-transmission, which is always a difficult business, the standard of performance fell very little short of the normal for the L.P.O. under Sir Thomas Beecham. The outstanding feature of the concert was the playing of Thomas Matthews in the Mozart—strictly accurate intonation and a fine sense of style contributed very tellingly to the stimulating effect of an almost perfect rendering. Of the Weinberger the less said the better: it shows considerable ingenuity, but its interest lies principally in the topicality of the "tune" and will most probably prove evanescent: the piano part, which is more than merely "orchestral", was ably performed by Ernest Christensen—one of the L.P.O. violas. The only blemish in a very enjoyable hour's music was an unfortunate oboe entry in the Delius. G. N.S.

Enterprise

THE MAURICE MILES STRING ORCHESTRA

A new ensemble, the Maurice Miles String Orchestra, made its first appearance at a mid-day concert at Wigmore Hall on Friday, 26th January. Mr. Miles was for some time on the staff of the B.B.C., and in 1936 was appointed conductor of the Bath Pump Room Orchestra. He was recently invited to Montevideo by Mr. Millington Drake, British Minister to Uruguay, and conducted a series of concerts in Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Santiago and Valparaiso. The programme on 26th January included the first performance of Gerald Finzi's Dies Natalis—a cantata for voice and string orchestra, written for the cancelled Three Choirs Festival last September; Bach's Pianoforte Concerto in D minor; John Ireland's Concertino Pastorale and works by Geminiani and Holst. The soloists were Elsie Suddaby (soprano) and Geoffrey Tankard (piano).

LONDON CONTEMPORARY MUSIC CENTRE

This organisation announced its first orchestral concert at Aeolian Hall on Tuesday, 30th January. Boyd Neel was to conduct his own Orchestra in Herbert Howells' Concerto, Benjamin Britten's Les Illuminations, Op. 18 (with Sophie Wyss), Lennox Berkeley's Serenade for strings, Albert Roussel's Sinfonietta, Op. 52, and three movements by Lord Berners; all except the Roussel receiving first concert performances.

Such enterprise as has been shown in these two ventures deserves all the support that can be mustered. There has been no time to review either concert in the current number, and in any case the Boyd Neel Orchestra is well known and needs no bush, but The Music Review hopes to give more space to Mr. Miles' gallant effort in a later issue; he is evidently bent on pioneering and we can do with pioneers to-day.

G. N. S.

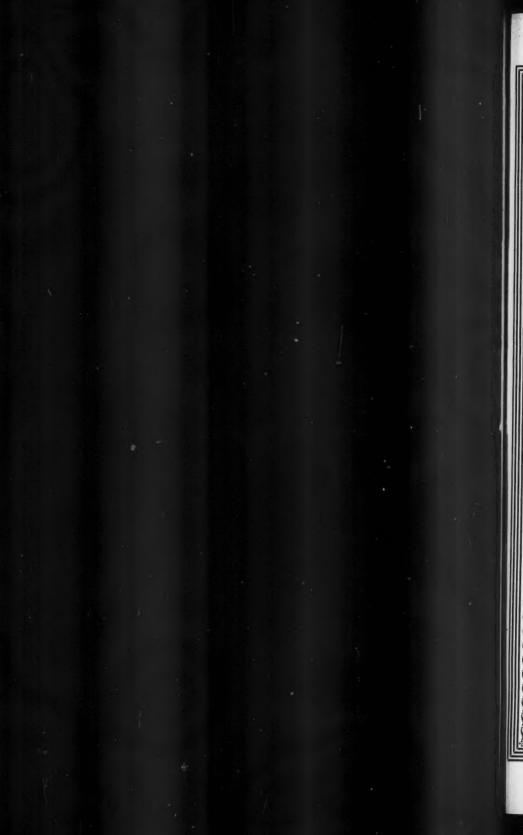
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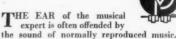
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